work lay in my vicinity, and with Miss P. M. Deane, Colonial 114
Research Fellow, who visited Ngoniland and who kindly placed her data at my disposal. Their researches threw much light on my own.

The literature on the Ngoni is considerable, and my work has 127
been helped by the reports of earlier writers. Professor Read visited the Fort Jameson Ngoni in 1935, and those of my informants who had met her recalled her visit with great pleasure. I was often able to allay suspicion by explaining that I was trying to do the same kind of work as she had done earlier. In addition to published reports I have made considerable use of official dispatches and other archival material relating to the conquest of the Ngoni by the British in 1898.

For kind permission to quote from other works, I am indebted 000
to the Oxford University Press and the International African Institute (in respect of *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* by Meyer Fortes), the Director of Agriculture, Northern Rhodesia Government (*The Soils, Vegetation and Agriculture of North-Eastern Rhodesia* by C. G. Trapnell), and The Editor, *Scottish Geographical Magazine* ('A Trip to Northern Angoniland', by H. Crawford Angus).

In preparing this book, I have to thank Miss D. Goldstein and Mr. J. Paing for help with diagrams and maps. Professors Schapera and Evans-Pritchard, Dr. Peristiany and Dr. Kaberry read the manuscript and I have been very grateful for their comments. Finally, I would thank my wife for companionship and assistance in the field, and for unremitting help in the arduous task of writing.

J. A. B.

Meling, Norway
1952

Postscript:

Since this book has gone to press, the British territories of 648
Central Africa have been united in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This momentous step in the development of the region has been accompanied by a major shift in the balance of power between the Administration, the White settlers and the indigenous African population. I do not know in detail how the Ngoni people have responded to this change. Federation was a topic of conversation among them even while I was carrying out this study, and several Ngoni men have been prominent in the political negotiations of the last four years. It seems, therefore, highly likely that the operation of the political structure discussed in the last two chapters

648 of this book, involving as it does both Blacks and Whites, has now altered considerably. I have described relations between the Ngoni and their White neighbours as I saw them during 1946-9, but this description may not necessarily be valid now.

J. A. B.

When it arrived in Fort Jameson District Mpezeni's group
173 consisted of three segments 4, 5 and 6, all of which belonged to the
167 now dispersed segment 1. By virtue of his claim to be the heir of
631 Zwangendaba, and hence the lord of segment 1, Mpezeni exercised
643 control over segments 6 and 7 as well as over his own segment 4.
It appears that the same procedure was adopted with these adhering segments as was followed earlier with the small groups of independent refugees who joined Zwangendaba near Delagoa Bay. For purposes of organization they were attached to the headquarters of the highest segment. As the headquarters of segment 1 had gone away with Mwambera's group, the senior segment headquarters in Mpezeni's group was now that of segment 4, and it was to this village that people from all three segments came to the first fruits festival, and which we may perhaps regard as the capital of Mpezeni's State.

It so happened that in 1898 when British Administration began in this area, the headquarters and most of the dependent villages of segments 6 and 7 lay on the east side of the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, and the bulk of segment 4 on the west. We might expect that at any place at which this Ngoni group settled, the three major segments of the State would occupy roughly distinct areas, and that as segments 6 and 7 were smaller than segment 4 they might lie on the fringe of the settlement. What appears to have happened is that the Ngoni moved eastwards into that region where the Europeans first found them, and that they were contemplating moving farther east into the present Nyasaland. Segments 6 and 7 were in the van of this advance, and the watershed, which here runs very roughly north and south, happened by accident to separate them from segment 4. This accident has been of considerable importance in the subsequent history of Mpezeni's group,
[648] for while segment 4 found itself in the territory of North-Eastern
Rhodesia, administered by the British South Africa Company, segments 5 and 6 formed part of the Nyasaland Protectorate, under the Foreign Office. Thus the State was again divided into two, and the Native Authorities which have developed belong to two separate hierarchies of administration.

In this study we are particularly concerned with the fortunes
173 of segment 4, in Northern Rhodesia. Although Mpezeni was the
613 head of this segment, it seems that his physiological mother was not
643 lady of the segment, for she was only a junior linked co-wife.
644 However this woman was prompted to independent status by the
595 formation, within segment 4, of segment 11 (Dingeni) of which she
became the lady. The senior man in this segment was her second

173 worship. They allowed the local chiefs to govern their people
636 according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority
727 of the Ngoni. They followed the method of governing which
Europeans call "indirect rule".' They also took selected children
from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni
villages. Young's account supports this.[27] Whether or not this
method of government was wise is clearly a matter of opinion. It
is perhaps significant that for Mpezeni's people the evidence
provided by the present disposition of persons claiming descent
from different ethnic groups suggests that a different policy was
followed there. Chibambo and Young talk of groups of warriors
under Mwambera belonging to various subjugated tribes; in
Mpezeni's area captured men appear to have been drafted into
[561] the various age-set regiments, so that men from the same tribe were
distributed throughout the army and did not form a distinct group.
Territorially, the dispersion of captives from the same tribe was not
173 so complete, for it appears that in Mpezeni's group the major
563 segment settled on the east of the Ngoni area raided mostly to the
727 east, and the western segment to the west, and so on, so that many
of the captives taken from a particular locality were to be found in
the major segment of the State nearest their homeland. Yet even
this concentration of captives with the same ethnic origin was not
complete, and representatives from all the principal tribes with
whom the Ngoni came into contact are nowadays to be found in
all parts of Mpezeni's Ngoniland. We suggest that this policy of
assimilation, practised to a much greater degree by Mpezeni than
by Mwambera, may be correlated with the fact that in Mpezeni's
group there were no revolts by groups of captives of common origin,
whereas in Mwambera's there were three such revolts, by Lake
Tonga, Kamanga and Henga tribesmen.

173 Mwambera attacked the Cewa chief Mwase Kasungu some
time round about 1860, and was driven off in the face of fire from
721 guns Mwase had obtained from Arabs. He subsequently came to an
648 agreement with Mwase whereby the Cewa chief became his
'child' and lent him soldiers armed with guns to assist in Ngoni
raids. Travellers suggest that later Mwase came to an agreement
with Mpezeni as well, but this is not so certain. Mpezeni does
seem to have established peaceful relations with one or two minor
chieftains during the period of early European contact,[28] but for

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[27] Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 39-41; Young, *History*, p. 119.

[28] e.g. Cuaula, a Kunda chief and Msoro, who had Kunda and Nsenga connexions. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 11; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyassa', p. 746.

the most part all external relations were warlike. The State, as it 173
were, was internally an organization of segments and externally 648
stood posed against an undifferentiated hostile world. Even with 721
the Maseko Ngoni of southern Nyasaland, the Ngoni group spatially nearest to Mpezeni, relations were warlike.

Despite this hostility, it seems probable that some individuals 173
from the neighbouring tribes did leave their own country and join
the Ngoni of their own free will. I was given accounts of this in a 167
number of family and village histories, and while it is possible that 648
some of those people whose ancestors were captured may now think 727
it preferable to speak of voluntary attachment to the Ngoni State rather than capture, I do not think this can be the complete explanation. In the first place, very many Ngoni of to-day are quite prepared to admit that their ancestors were captured on Ngoni raids, so that the desire to conceal the capture of an ancestor, if it exists at all, cannot be widespread. On the contrary, some Cewa chiefs and notables who are now politically independent of the Ngoni and live in their own chiefdoms will recount with great interest how their ancestors were captured by the Ngoni. Secondly, some of those who claim that their ancestors joined the Ngoni of their own volition come from places a long way distant from Ngoni country, where the frequency of Ngoni raids cannot have been high, even if the Ngoni ever raided there at all. For instance, one village claims that its people came voluntarily from as far away as Fingoe, in Portuguese East Africa. Thirdly, there is a well-known instance of a son and other close relatives of an Nsenga chief who joined the Ngoni and rose to high position in the State. The Ngoni Paramount Chief and some of the minor chiefs are still friendly with the descendants of this Nsenga chief, Kalindawalo, and the story that these Nsenga nobles were not captured but were instructed by their own chief to transfer their allegiance to the Ngoni seems probably to be true, despite a contrary tradition among the Nsenga that these men were taken as captives.[39] Lastly there is the evidence of Glave, writing in 1894, who says that a host of villages had given themselves up to the Ngoni rather than submit to the constant anxiety of attack.[40] Thus provision was made for men and women to join the State other than as captives. These volunteers were treated in the same way as captives. They were allocated, either as individuals or in small groups, to a segment and came under the
orders of a lord or lady. The Ngoni lived at a much higher standard [511]

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[39] cf. Field, *Visiilano*, p. 16; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 42-4.

[40] 86, fo. 329. See p. p. 68, f.n. 8. See also Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 473.

173 of life than their neighbours, largely at the expense of those neigh-
167 bours. It is therefore not surprising that at least some of the more
648 adventurous of the hunted should have decided to join the ranks of
72 the hunters.

[511] In Tanganyika the activities of the Arabs and other slave
traders brought about significant changes in Ngoni society earlier
173 than in the less accessible Nyasa region. The Ngoni in Tanganyika
648 did not regard their neighbours merely as enemies. Ngoni warriors
formed part of the army of Mirambo, the Nyamwezi slave trader. An elaborate network of joking relationships seems to have regulated intercourse between the tribes of Tanganyika and the Tanganyika Ngoni were linked to many of their neighbours in this way.[41] Joking relationships of this kind did not develop among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. In recent times, however, Ngoni from Fort Jameson have come into contact on the Copperbelt and elsewhere with tribes such as the Bemba who have developed a joking relationship with other Ngoni groups. These joking relationships are now extended to the Fort Jameson men.

From this historical account we are able to gain some idea of
173 Ngoni polity during the mid-nineteenth century. We have restricted
128 our attention to the relations existing between major portions of
the State and between the State and its neighbours. We have seen how forms of organization, in particular the lineage system, with which the Ngoni began their march, were modified in conformity with the peculiar conditions of migrant brigandage. In the next chapter we shall look more closely at the internal organization of the State and attempt to analyse the social processes at work within it.

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[41] See the writings of Moreau, Pedler, Scrivenor and Spies.

have no clear history of this kind of situation, but it seems possible 595
that when there was no heir who could clearly claim ascendancy 611
over the whole of a primal segment, the segment then split into two.
Thus in our example, if there were sons in bevies 2 and 3 but not in
bevy 1, the primal segment formed for the great wife in bevy 1
would in the next generation have split into two segments, one led
by the heir in bevy 2 and the other by the heir in bevy 3. This [578]
hypothesis would be in accord with some of the disputes which I
recorded between eldest sons by different mothers, each claiming
to be the principal heir of their father.

Information drawn from village histories shows that there were 578
sometimes similar disputes about which son of the great wife should 611
be heir. The eldest son could be passed over if he were an obvious 595
fool, and there was, therefore, the possibility of conflict between
those who thought him a fool and those who did not. When the
first wife married did not become the great wife, her eldest son was
sometimes older than the great wife's son, and was sometimes his
rival as heir. The contradiction between superordination by age
and by status of mother among half-brothers brought up in the
same vicinity led to conflict. A fourth mode of conflict was between
a man's son and his lieutenant. Where the son was unsuccessful in
commanding the loyalty of his father's dependants, effective
leadership in his father's segment sometimes passed to the lieutenant.

We should, I think, be mistaken if we regarded these modes of 578
dispute as causes. They were rather the idioms in which, in this
particular system, rivalry was expressed between contiguous segments. 557
Many dependants brought power and prestige for their
lord, and the struggle for dependants went on within this remarkably
flexible and yet orderly system. A man attracted dependants
by remaining loyal to his lord; yet the more dependants he gained
the more he differentiated himself from his lord. If a man was not
the rightful heir in one segment, then he could try to gain the
support of the lord of a higher segment and hope thereby to alter
the distribution of power in the lower one. This consideration
became particularly important after the arrival of Europeans, who [648]
exercised control over the whole State and at the same time were
ignorant of and not bound by the values which maintained the old
system.

We have mentioned the possibility of conflict between heirs 578
arising from the method of ranking bevies. The same principle of 611
ranking applied to segments and headquarters as well as to bevies of 621
wives, and there were similar possibilities of conflict. In certain 554
situations it appears as if that which was founded first was dominant,

561 involving perhaps between a dozen and a hundred men, whereas
621 the Paramount Chief could, so long as the State remained intact,
701 command the services of perhaps 10,000 warriors.

This unifying effect of the age-set system applied particularly
561 to the recent captives. It appears to have been through the regi-
727 mental system that recent captives, both men and women, were
621 indoctrinated into Ngoni ways and made to feel that they, too,
were Ngoni. In the residential system, recent captives were dependants rather than lords. In the age-set system there was no such distinction. Men captives were drafted into the regiment appro-
[702] priate to their apparent age, and boys were enrolled with their
coevals. They were called upon to fight in the same way as their aristocratic comrades, and were offered the same prospects of promotion, both within the age-set system and in the segmentary organization, as a result of successful fighting. Many of the well-remembered segment heads who achieved rapid promotion after capture are described as being successful warriors.

The annual first fruits ceremony (*nkwala*) was organized on an
561 age-set basis. Although I was not able to establish details of this
796 ceremony, it is clear that it was the most memorable national
ceremony in the year, and that it provided supernatural sanction to the cohesion of the State and of the various regiments, under the leadership of the Paramount Chief. There were dances and mock fighting between regiments, and women also fought with each other in age-set groups of some kind or other. Read states that the description of the ceremony she was given showed much similarity with the corresponding Swazi ceremony. Commentators on the
[171] Swazi and Zulu ceremonies describe them as strengthening the
army and the kingship and unifying the nation, by a dramatic exaggeration of the conflicts as well as the links within it, and it is probable that this was true also of the Ngoni.[9]

The Ngoni and their neighbours formed part of a wide social
[167] system, and the relationship between them was a political one.
648 When the Ngoni moved from place to place, the area round them
631 was vacated by its former inhabitants, so as to leave a dwelling-
area for the Ngoni and a no-man's-land isolating it from other inhabited areas. These moves were forced on the indigenous people by Ngoni raids. There were no direct relations between
[721] States, for there was little concerted opposition to Ngoni raiding

[9] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 470; Kuper *African Aristocracy*, pp. 223-5; Gluckman, 'First fruits ceremonies', pp. 30-3. The Swazi ceremony is called *incwala*, and Read's informants called it *inqwala*, but my informants had lost their click consonants.

and the Ngoni did not seek to vanquish other tribes as states but 648
rather to exhaust them by continued attrition. In later years it
appears that a few minor chiefs who lived near the Fort Jameson 631
group did manage to come to some agreement with it, for the [721]
Ngoni seem to have raided them only sporadically although warriors passed through their territories *en route* for more distant objectives; but this may have been due to the intervention of European traders. The powerful Cewa chief, Mwase Kasungu, may also have come to some arrangement with the Fort Jameson group even as he did with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland.

Thus for the most part the external relations of the Ngoni 648
State were warlike. The Ngoni did not trade with their neighbours,
or send ambassadors to them, or enter into alliances with them; 561
they merely killed or captured them.[10] The army was organized 701
on a basis of age-sets, but the age-sets as such did not enter into political relations with their enemies. They merely executed the policy of the State or of the major segment to which they belonged.

3. *Officers of State*

The residential and age-set systems formed the structure of the 642
State and there was no separate administrative system. There was
little specialization of function among those who wielded power in 631
the State, and those who did have special governmental tasks were all the lords of large segments.

The nearest approach to special political officers is to be found 631
among the regional governors. A few of Zwangendaba's followers were with him from the beginning of his journey from Natal. Some of these were his agnates, but the descendants of others have now forgotten what relationship, if any, they bore to him. These early followers did not stand in the lord-lieutenant relationship to Zwangendaba, for in Ngoni usage all lieutenants were captives, or the descendants of captives, of their lords. They were organized in segments in the same way as everyone else, but the heads of some of these segments were known by the special term *mulumuzana* which I have translated as regional governor. Segments headed by regional governors were attached like other large segments to the various royal headquarters, and thus became primary divisions of the segments formed for queens. They differed from the lieutenants of the royal headquarters not only in their title but also in the greater freedom they were allowed in their segments. They kept their own villages separate from the royal villages to which they were attached politically.

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[10] See pp. 25*ff*.

lord's dependants placed under a lieutenant's care became more 631
specifically his dependants and eventually he appointed one or 621
more of the men among them to be his own lieutenants. Thus it 624
was possible for Z to be the lieutenant of Y and at the same
time for Y to be the lieutenant of X. When Y died, his son
became X's lieutenant or, if Y had no son, Z might succeed
him as X's lieutenant.

A lord with but few dependants sometimes appointed one or more of them as his lieutenants without specifically dividing his dependants among them. Thus, a lieutenant might be appointed without the formation of a segment for him, and only later would he differentiate from the rest of his lord's dependants those for whom he was directly responsible.

The ranking of lieutenants was one of the least stable parts of the residential system. In a village under a lord there were lieutenants in charge of segments forming divisions within the village. As their segments grew in size, the lieutenants broke out of the village to found new satellite villages. A new set of lieutenants was gradually appointed to take their places in charge of the people remaining in the headquarters, and in the course of time the new set also broke away from the headquarters village.[21] Though they had moved out from the village the lieutenants still retained their positions as lieutenants within the primal segment of which it was the headquarters. Thus in a large segment containing many villages there was a long ranked roster of lieutenants, of which only the junior members still lived in the segment headquarters. Further proliferation of lieutenants sometimes took place when an heir succeeded as lord of the segment but did not found a new segment of his own. The new lord appointed his own lieutenants, so that within the same segment, and partly within the same settlement, there were two sets of lieutenants, one senior by time of appointment, the other enjoying the favour of the present head of the segment. When in these circumstances one of the senior set died, his eldest son sometimes had difficulty in asserting his position as lieutenant; and in this way the senior set, or part of it, lost control of the segment to the more recently appointed men.

It was in keeping with the expanding social boundaries of the 631
State, and of the high degree of mobility within it, that there was 646
no formally constituted council. Some contemporary accounts
mention a tribal council, but it seems clear that until very recently, [648]
when the Administration tried to institute a council with defined
membership, there has never been a legislative or executive body

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[21] cf. my 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 197*f*.

political would seem to be, for example, at the medial lineage 602
among the Tallensi, beyond which generation differences are not 631
recognized; and at the village among the Nuer. It seems probable [121]
that in the old Ngoni system the village was also the significant [171]
unit, above which relationships were dominantly political and below which they were largely determined by the multiplex sentiments and activities arising out of kinship and domestic association. This is certainly so in modern Ngoniland, although the same principles of organization no longer apply at all levels.

I have described elsewhere the critical position of the modern
Ngoni headman, linking the political system with the network of 622
ties of kinship and co-residence operative within the village, and 631
similar conditions have been reported elsewhere by Gluckman and Mitchell. Above the village, whether in a state or in a stateless society, relations are in the main between enduring groups and are defined with respect to interests vital to the survival of these groups, even if expressed in the idiom of kinship.[36]

Granted the existence of primitive states with continually
segmenting political systems, such as the Zulu and Ngoni, it is then 121
possible to look at from another point of view the various African 171
political systems for which there is adequate information. In 631
terms of political segmentation on a unilineal basis, states like the Ngoni and Zulu are closer in form to the stateless societies of the Nuer, Tallensi, Gusii and Logoli than to the Nupe and Kede states with their administrative systems largely independent of unilineal affiliation. To document this point fully would take us beyond the scope of this book; our purpose here is merely to emphasize the importance in comparative studies of examining political structures from more than one point of view.

When talking of states, we make the convenient distinction between internal and external political relations. No such simple distinction can be made with stateless societies, for in them relations which are external to one segment are internal to the next higher segment, and yet may still legitimately be regarded as political relations. The pre-Shakan chiefdoms of Zululand formed a system similar to the Tallensi maximal lineages, and we may speak there-
fore in that instance of a segmentary system regulating political 631
relations between states. Ngoni external relations were not regulated 174
in this way, for the Ngoni were isolated and unique in a region 648

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[36] For this section, see Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* and 'Kinship among the Nuer'; Fortes, *Web of kinship*; Wagner, *Bantu of North Kavirondo*; Mayer, *Lineage principle in Gusii society*; Gluckman, 'Analysis of a social situation' and 'Kingdom of the Zulu'; Gluckman, *et al.*, 'Village headman'.

631 where other states, if states they were, organized themselves on
648 quite different lines. Ngoni external political relations were
174 restricted to acts of war. They harried their neighbours but did not
bring them into enduring political relationship. When fission occurred, when the Ngoni State split into two, then indeed the fighting that took place was war between segments, and for a while an inter-segment relationship which had been internal became external and was mediated through force. Relations of this kind did not persist, for independent Ngoni groups soon diverged from each other, seeking weaker enemies.

5. *Lineage systems compared*

Our argument in the preceding section was directed to showing
128 that the old Ngoni society was a state in which internal political relations were largely determined by a continually segmenting residential system. We compared it with other societies in which lineage systems provided the basis for political relations. We now have to ask how did this residential system differ from these similar
613 systems; was it a kind of lineage system?

611 Gluckman has set out nine criteria by which a lineage system may be distinguished and which we may apply to the residential
[121] system.[37] In the first place we must expand the meaning of the word descent before we can call an Ngoni segment a unilineal descent group. However it seems justifiable to regard the process by which
[727] an Ngoni captive sundered the ties linking him to his natal com-
[597] munity and was then incorporated in a new one as a kind of social death and re-birth.[38] We may then speak of a captive being socially descended from his lord. More familiarly, we must use descent to include social descent from a man when biological descent is from his kinsman acting as pro-husband for him after his death, and from a woman when biological descent is from her linked junior co-wife. With these extensions of meaning, we may regard the residential system as composed of unilineal descent groups.

Lineage segments, particularly small ones, are usually exogamous, whereas no Ngoni segment was automatically an exogamous unit. True agnatic kin could not marry one another, but the quasi-agnatic relationship between a lord and his dependants was not a bar, and a man and woman with the same captor were free to marry each other, even though they both called their lord *father*.

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[37] Gluckman, in Mitchell and Barnes, *Lamba village*, pp. 4-5.

[38] cf. Warner's description of the passing of light-skinned Negroes in the United States into the White caste as 'social death'.

sanctions were less effective than they are in more homogeneous 619
societies; but this can hardly be proved. The fact remains that 642
some segments did break off, that the State attempted to annihilate [669]
them, and that sometimes they were successful, probably sometimes
not. The transition was sharp between the condition in which a
segment was an integral loyal part of the State and that in which it
was itself a new State. Spatially a State was surrounded by a [631]
no-man's-land. Everything inside the uninhabited ring of country
was in the State, everything outside it was not. Within the State [648]
there was no feuding such as sometimes characterizes societies
whose political boundaries are not uniquely defined. In Ngoni
society, murder was punished by the State, and the cattle paid by [682]
the murderer's kin were handed over to the Paramount Chief, not
to the kin of the murdered man. The Paramount Chief, it is true,
usually handed on the cattle to them, but the method of settlement
is indicative of the power of the State. There was only one national
first fruits ceremony, accompanied by summary penalties of death [796]
for those whose actions threatened its mystical effectiveness, as for [687]
example by singing the ceremonial songs at the wrong time.
Furthermore, there was a single age-set system, in which the
members of each set were drawn from all segments, and because of [561]
the activities of the sets, the segments united in aggression against
the external world.

When a split threatened, the issue was decided by force of
arms. Yet in a quite significant sense the cohesion of the State [669]
was not based on force at all. The Paramount Chief had no monopoly
of force, for as we have seen there were representatives of [631]
every major segment in each age-set, and any lord who could
claim the loyal support of his segment had at his disposal a fighting
force as efficient as that of anyone else. Within the army there was
little or no technical, as distinct from tactical, specialization and [701]
the Paramount Chief had no bodyguard or other specially recruited
force on which he could rely. The Ngoni were contemptuous of
guns, for the Tower muskets used by the Arabs and others could [411]
not penetrate their shields at normal firing range, and such guns
as the Ngoni possessed were used only for making a noise.[45] There
was no strong central power posed against the provincial lords, as 619
in some societies. The strength of any segment was measured by its 631
internal cohesion, its size and fighting ability, as matched against
the cohesion, size and ability of the forces that could be marshalled
against it. While he was loyal, expansion in a man's segment

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[45] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 477, and 'Geschichte', p. 196; Read, 'Tradition', p. 461, f.n1; Young, *History*, p. 125.

than were the groups further inland. However, the evidence 631 suggests that no great changes of this kind took place among the 178 Fort Jameson group under Mpezeni, and it is therefore with changes in the external environment of the State that we shall be chiefly concerned.

In this early period, between 1821 and about 1885, there was 178 for most of the time a situation in which the forces attaching people to the State were stronger than those tending to split it. The age- 64 set system, the web of affinal ties, the attachment of segment members to their lord, the reliance of a lord on the support of his dependants, and the external opposition of all non-Ngoni, these all held the State together. Shifts in the balance of power could be made without disrupting the State because the State was continually expanding, and expansion gave it flexibility. The weakest links in the State were at the top, and it was these that were most strained as the State grew in numbers and in degree of segmentation. Under critical conditions, as on the death of the Paramount Chief or when the need for food necessitated a move from one tribal site to another, these were the links that gave way and fresh independent States were formed. Fission in the State led to consolidation of ties in each divergent group, but the same processes leading to further fission began again at once.

During the period of migration the Ngoni flourished. They 167 were successful brigands on the march. Yet they were brigands 721 in a poor land, and despite their military successes their economy 648 remained one of subsistence cultivation, even though others did some of the cultivation for them. They were well organized for war and their enemies were not, but both they and their enemies were poor people relying on shifting cultivation with a poor technology and with access to only moderately valuable natural resources. The hinterland of Africa provided the Ngoni with an area within which they could operate successfully, but this area was bounded by the lands of wealthier and mightier peoples. Towards the end of the century the boundaries of the area began to contract. The Ngoni found themselves in conflict not with subsistence cultivators using hoes and spears, but with peoples using writing and guns and possessing apparently limitless resources of cloth, beads and gunpowder. We now have to turn to the story of the Ngoni struggle with these Arab and European invaders.

Chapter Three

DEFEAT

1. Structural change 2. Portugal or Britain 3. Concession hunters 4. European consolidation 5. Friction 6. Fighting 7. Cattle 8. The end of a system

1. *Structural change*

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THE STRUGGLES of the Ngoni during the middle of the nineteenth century were with groups of roughly the same character as themselves. The processes at work in the Ngoni social system were in the main repetitive. The State grew in size, split, and grew again, but it was still largely the same kind of State as before. Even though there were important differences between the Ngoni and their opponents, particularly after 1835, those whom they encountered were sufficiently like themselves to be absorbed into the system without difficulty. In the nomenclature of Radcliffe-Brown and the Wilsons, there was social circulation in the Ngoni State but little change in its structural form.[1] For this reason we have been concerned in our analysis so far with but few of the historical details of that period, and have dealt with history only in an abstract and generalized form. Many of the inconsistencies [114] between various versions of the tribal legend have not been significant. For example, Chief Ciwele Ndhlovu of Dowa broke off from the main body of Ngoni, according to some writers before, and according to others after, the split between Mpezeni and Mwambera.[2] It does not matter for our particular purpose which of these versions is correct, for we are here concerned only to establish that from time to time senior lieutenants did split off with their segments to form independent chiefdoms. This process, of which Ciwele's secession is an example, was essentially the same before and after the Mpezeni-Mwambera split.

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After 1880 Ngoni history entered a new phase, and social processes began to operate which were not repetitive. Changes began to occur in the form of the Ngoni social field, for instead of interacting with groups similar to themselves, the Ngoni became involved in a much wider network of social relations. This change

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[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 'On social structure', p. 4; Wilson, *Social change*, p. 58.

[2] cf. Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, pp. 32-3; Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 18; Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 186.

of scale,[8] as we may call it, was accompanied by major changes not 648
only in the positions occupied by individuals in Ngoni society but 178
also in the form of Ngoni society itself. We have to analyse at this 121
stage a non-repetitive process, by which the autonomous Ngoni state, organized by a segmentary residential system and an age-set system, was changed into a dependent unit in a system of Native Authorities forming part of a world-wide colonial empire. For this reason the details of the process are worth noting, for in Ngoni history they are unique and largely determine the form of modern Ngoni society. Having established this significant sequence of events, we are then in a position to look at the same set of facts in a wider context. For what is unique and non-repetitive for the Ngoni may be repetitive in a wider context. The Ngoni are only one tribe among a myriad of tribes, and what happened to them has also happened to many others. Similar sequences of events, each unique for the particular tribe concerned, have occurred throughout the world at various periods of time whenever small autonomous systems have been absorbed into large and more highly resourceful ones. We can therefore look at Ngoni history from 1880 onwards as either unique, from the point of view of the Ngoni, or as typical, or at least probably typical, of a repetitive process which has often occurred in the development of any empire.

Conveniently, at least some of the facts can be ascertained 121
with reasonable certainty. We are no longer dependent only on 128
oral tradition, but can refer to contemporary documents. These
reflect in the main only the European side of Black-White relations, [175]
but even so their testimony is enlightening. I have therefore set out in full the history, mainly of external relations, of the Fort Jameson Ngoni from 1886 down to 1900 both with the intention of throwing light on how the transition was made from pre-conquest to modern society in this particular tribal instance, and also as an example of what seems probably an oft-repeated process in the history of any empire. A discussion of how typical the Ngoni experience is would take us beyond the bounds of this book. We should, however, bear in mind that the newer comparative method, as developed by Radcliffe-Brown and his followers, is as applicable to mammoth social forms, such as empires, as to small ones such as hordes, provided only that the right kind of data are available.

Our detailed documentation should extend down to modern times, but after 1900 there was a change in the kind of events that were documented, related as we shall see to a change in social relations, and we have to proceed somewhat differently.

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[8] For the concept of scale, see Wilson, *Social change*, pp. 25 *ff*.

Livingstone was the first Briton to reach this area. In 1866 he
175 passed through what was to become Mpezeni's country,[5] and in his
journals he makes frequent references to Ngoni raids. Unfortunately his carriers would not take him to Ngoni villages and all he
saw of Ngoni activity were burnt-out huts and dead bodies killed in
battle. The accounts of his journeys stimulated British interest in
the region round Lake Nyasa, a centre for the slave trade, and
led to the arrival there of missionaries and settlers. In 1874 the
[799] Livingstonia Mission was founded and in 1883 a British consul was
first appointed to the Shire Highlands.[6]

Mpezeni's country lay some distance from the main centres of
British and Portuguese activity, but was not without importance.
Apart from Missale, it was thought that there were other gold deposits
to be found in the area. In contrast with their harried neighbours,
[132] the prosperous Ngoni with their herds of cattle attracted travellers
while the pleasant climate of the plateau, compared with the hot
valleys of Luangwa, Zambezi, and Nyasa, made it suitable for
European colonization. Yet the Ngoni army was formidable, and
had to be neutralized in some way if other settlements were to be
safe. Mpezeni's country flanked several trade routes of importance
from the Zambezi and Lake Nyasa inland to the sources of slaves
[439] and ivory. For these various reasons Mpezeni's country attracted
the attention of traders and governments, those interested in
175 benefiting by the slave trade as well as those seeking to end it. In
648 addition towards the end of the century when it became clear that
Africa was to be completely divided between the Powers, any
territory, however inhospitable, that had not already been claimed
attracted the attention of treaty-making explorers.

The first move towards incorporating the Fort Jameson Ngoni in a colonial empire was made by the Portuguese who had been stimulated by the increasing British interest in Nyasaland. In November 1888 the Governor-General of Moçambique instructed Wiese, a German[7] trader who had already made contact with Mpezeni, to lead an expedition to him. According to Johnston, Wiese and an associate were offered £2,000 to secure Mpezeni's submission to Portugal.[8] Wiese was well received and distributed flags to Mpezeni and his sons. The Portuguese regarded the

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[5] *Last Journals*, i, p. 150.

[6] Johnston, *British Central Africa*, pp. 55-69.

[7] In *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, p. 683, the Portuguese Foreign Minister describes Wiese as a Dutchman. This appears to be incorrect in the light of Wiese's contacts with the German Legation in Lisbon.

[8] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 235; **49**, p. 13. (To save space, all public records will be identified by a serial number printed bold face, taken from the first column of the Bibliography, List C.)

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acceptance of these flags as acts of submission, a view echoed by the French explorer Foà. The British view, based on the observations of Sharpe and the statements of Ngoni envoys to Johnston in January 1890, was that no treaty was signed.[9] The official Portuguese report of the expedition records among other things that Mpezeni had been friendly to the Portuguese, that he accepted their flags, and said that their friends and enemies were also his, that he promised not to raid in their territory, and that he refused to see a British traveller [Sharpe] because he had not been recommended by the Portuguese. There is no specific mention of any agreement by which Mpezeni accepted Portuguese protection.[10] Whatever construction was put on these events by Europeans, either Portuguese or British, it seems unlikely that Mpezeni can have felt himself bound by his acceptance of a flag. Wiese evidently thought it necessary to point out to him that the flag was not to be used as an article of clothing.[11] Sharpe suggests that Wiese tried to make a treaty with the Cewa chief Mkanda, who had been driven out by the Ngoni; Wiese then intended to declare Mkanda the rightful owner of Mpezeni's country.[12]

The British Government had been reluctant to extend its commitments in the Lake Nyasa region beyond the appointment of a consul. During 1888-9, however, there was fighting at the north end of Lake Nyasa between Arabs and the African Lakes Company in which Lugard was involved. Rhodes's attention was attracted to the area and he offered Lugard a large subsidy to develop it.[13] This proof of Rhodes's interest emboldened the Foreign Office, and on 28 July 1889 Johnston arrived at the mouth of the Zambezi as the representative of the Foreign Office and of Rhodes and with the task of consolidating the British position in central Africa.

Johnston began at once to make treaties with as many chiefs as possible, spurred on by the activities of Pinto, a Portuguese engaged on a similar task. In August he sent Sharpe on a journey westward from the Shire Valley on which he made treaties with some of the chiefs lying south of Mpezeni and north of the Zambezi.[14] Sharpe returned to the Shire and was sent off again, this time to Mpezeni himself. He did not manage to see him. According to the Portu-

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[9] *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, p. 683; Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, pp. 298*f*; 16, fo. 146; 12, fo. 275; 49; 158.
[10] *Boletim Official de Moçambique*, No. 21 (24 May 1890), pp. 238-40.
[11] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 488.
[12] 12, fo. 289, 311.
[13] Lugard, *East African Empire*, i, pp. 157-9, 202-7.
[14] 6, fo. 256; Sharpe, 'Journey between the Shire and Loangwa', pp. 150-7.

175 648 guese, Mpezeni refused to see Sharpe, while according to Johnston Sharpe had used up his stock of presents before reaching Mpezeni and hence did not attempt to negotiate with him. Sharpe found Wiese at Mpezeni's with a Portuguese officer and on 11 December 1889 witnessed the formal presentation of a Portuguese flag to one of Nsingu's lieutenants, though, 'for reasons of correctness', he was not asked to sign the document officially recording the incident.[15]

Although Wiese was leading the Portuguese party, he spoke bitterly to Sharpe of the way in which the Portuguese had treated him and indicated to him and in a letter to Johnston that he might consider working in the British interest. Johnston replied in January 1890 with a letter of 'a non-compromising but vaguely reassuring character'.[16]

In March 1890 Sharpe began another journey to Mpezeni, this time with instructions from Johnston to make a treaty with Mpezeni and to 'buy' Wiese with an offer of up to £1,000 a year for three years. He arrived at Mpezeni's village on 24 March, only to find that Wiese had left for Tete over a month earlier, leaving behind him the Portuguese officer. Mpezeni kept Sharpe waiting for an interview until 4 April, and although friendly he refused to discuss a treaty or accept a British flag. Sharpe left a letter for Wiese, offering him £300 a year for his services, and departed for the Luangwa Valley. After an unprofitable trip he returned to Mpezeni's on 21 May, to find Wiese and the Portuguese officer on the point of leaving for a trading-trip to Kasungu. Wiese rejected Sharpe's offer of £300 a year and Sharpe was forced to return to Nyasa with both the principal aims of his expedition unaccomplished. He had, however, made a few treaties with non-Ngoni chiefs.[17] Thomson, another explorer who, like Sharpe, was employed by Rhodes's British South Africa Company, arrived in Ngoni country in December 1890 after a successful trip to the Lala. Thomson was greeted with hostility, sheltered with Wiese, and fled during the night.[18]

175 439 648 Johnston played a dual role in Nyasaland, for besides representing the British Foreign Office he was also responsible for the interests of Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, from

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[15] 15, fo. 26-7; 16, fo. 144; *Boletim Official de Moçambique*, 21 (24 May 1890), p. 239.

[16] Wiese may have offered his services to Johnston before Sharpe arrived at Mpezeni's. cf. 49; 158, p. 62; 16, fo. 145-6.

[17] 9, fo. 30; 16, fo. 146; 12, fo. 274-95; Sharpe, 'Journey from Lake Nyassa', pp. 745, 749; Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 89; Wiese, 'Expedição', xi, pp. 412-31, 464-80.

[18] Thomson, 'Lake Bangweolo', p. 114; Wiese, 'Expedição', xi, p. 588.

whom he received a subsidy. When that company was granted its 175
first charter on 29 October 1889, its sphere of operations was 439
restricted to south of the Zambezi. When Johnston began work 648
north of the river the future division of responsibility between the Foreign Office and the B.S.A. Company was uncertain. On 21 September 1889 Buchanan, on Johnston's instructions, proclaimed a British Protectorate over the region round the Shire Highlands, and on 14 May 1891 this was superseded by the proclamation of a British Protectorate over approximately the whole of present-day Nyasaland. In April 1891 the Foreign Office sanctioned the extension of the B.S.A. Company's operations to the north of the Zambezi within the British sphere of influence, excluding Nyasaland. It was, however, still uncertain whether or not the administration of the Protectorate was to remain permanently separate from that of the B.S.A. Company's territory to the west. A complicated story of financial negotiations and of a quarrel between Johnston and Rhodes ended in an agreement whereby after 30 June 1895 all administrative connexion between the two territories ceased.[19]

The western boundary of the Protectorate proclaimed in 1891 175
was based on that laid down for the Conventional Basin of the
Congo[20] at the Berlin West African Conference in 1885. This line, 648
the Zambezi-Nyasa watershed, passed through the eastern portion of Mpezeni's country, leaving the greater portion of Ngoniland outside the Protectorate. The dividing line between the British and Portuguese spheres of influence was not finally determined until the Anglo-Portuguese agreement of 11 June 1891. Despite the Portuguese flags and Wiese's affirmations of friendship, the whole of Mpezeni's country was placed by this agreement in the British and not in the Portuguese sphere, as it had also been in the unratified convention of 20 August 1890.[21] As a consequence, then, of the proclamation of the Nyasaland Protectorate, the extension northwards of the B.S.A. Company's sphere of activity, and the Anglo-Portuguese agreement, Mpezeni's country was divided between the Protectorate and the B.S.A. Company's territory. In consequence of the agreement, or because Mpezeni was tired of them, Wiese and the Portuguese expedition left Ngoniland.

Despite this formal division Mpezeni had as yet, as Johnston was to point out six years later, 'ceded nothing to anybody'.[22] On the other hand, Sharpe and Thomson had made treaties with some of the chiefs round about Mpezeni, and Johnston urged that Mpezeni had merely dispossessed these treaty-making chiefs and 'consequently declined to acknowledge him as ruling chief'. Mpezeni, he held, was a 'robber without rights'.[23] As a matter of policy Johnston supported the friendly matrilineal tribes rather than Mpezeni. He also opposed him because of the Ngoni raids which threatened the settled order he was trying to establish. He held that Mpezeni was such a scourge of the indigenous population that he must some day be dealt with, that he was an intrusive Zulu robber who must eventually be subdued and dethroned, when the country could be administered directly by Europeans or could be restored to the government of the rightful indigenous chieftains.[24] Even after Mpezeni had been defeated, the precipitating causes of the war were regarded by the Nyasaland Administration as only incidental, for 'The Angoni had, however, by their incessant raids into our territory made it a matter which sooner or later would have to be dealt with . . . '.[25]

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[19] *State papers*, lxxxi, p. 1009, No. 243; *London Gazette*, 15 May 1891 and 24 February 1893; *A & P*, 1890, li, pp. 634-40; *A & P*, 1895, lxxi, pp. 565-8; Johnston, *Story of my life*, p. 497.

[20] *A & P*, 1884-5, lv, p. 439.

[21] *A & P*, 1890-1, lvii, pp. 589, 625; *A & P*, 1890-1, xcvi, p. 420.

[22] 158, p. 63. cf. 132, p. 59.

One factor which delayed Johnston from acting as swiftly against Mpezeni as he did against the Yao and southern Ngoni was that Mpezeni was farther than they from the main artery of Nyasaland, Lake Nyasa and the Shire Valley. In any case Johnston was anxious not to take precipitate action with too few troops which might end in disaster. He was reluctant to allow the parties of prospectors and traders who entered Mpezeni's country to take arms with them lest they should provoke the Ngoni into attacking them before Johnston was ready. He was anxious to avoid having to face an alliance of all the various Ngoni groups. After the downfall of Lobengula in Southern Rhodesia in 1893, Ndebele refugees reached Mpezeni and according to some reports Lobengula himself was among them. Co-ordinated action by Mpezeni and the Ndebele was feared and, as we shall see, an attempt was in fact made by Chabisa to unite Mpezeni's forces with the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland. The only offensive action taken by the Nyasaland Administration prior to the final conflict in 1898 was in May 1896, when troops were moved from Kotakota to Kasungu in response to a report that Mpezeni was planning to kill some prospectors, but the report was found to be false and the expedition was called off.[26]

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[23] 158, pp. 62-3.

[24] 132; 158, p. 61.

[25] *A & P*, 1899, lxiii, p. 253.

[26] 98; 132; 148a, fo. 141; Warton in *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67.

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These events made the inclusion of Mpezeni's country in the British colonial empire highly likely. The way in which this would come about was still not obvious, nor had it yet been decided who should control the economic resources of the area. It was the struggle for economic control which in the end decided the political issue. Here again Wiese played a prominent part.

3. *Concession hunters*

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From 1885, if not before, Wiese lived in Ngoni country and among the neighbouring tribes as a trader.[27] His wife, who lived with him part of the time in Mpezeni's country, was Doña Romana, a black Portuguese lady who owned some hundreds of slaves. Wiese's commercial objectives can be inferred from the conversation he had with Sharpe on this matter in May 1890, when he mentioned that he employed over two hundred and fifty of his wife's slaves as elephant-hunters, and that he was planning to employ two thousand men in trading expeditions to the Luapula, Garanganze and other distant places. He was also at that time planning to make war on a certain Cewa chief.[28]

According to Wiese's own account, he gained a number of concessions from chiefs and he was granted in 1887 various mining rights by the Portuguese Government in the territory to the south of Mpezeni. On 15 November 1886 Mpezeni orally granted him a concession for ninety-nine years and, Wiese claimed, this agreement was ratified in writing on 14 April 1891. Mpezeni, described as 'Paramount Chief of the Angoni (Zulus) and Sovereign Ruler over Maravia and Western Nyassaland', granted Wiese a concession in 'one part' of his country some 6,700 square miles in extent and reaching to within twelve miles of the Zambezi near Chicoa. In return for exclusive mineral, timber, water, railway and other rights, Wiese agreed to pay Mpezeni £200 annually and 1 per cent of his profits. Mpezeni reserved the rights of sovereignty over his people and the land, water and timber necessary to his subjects were guaranteed.[29] [31]

A few months before this written concession was drawn up, Bowler and Rankin, representing the comprehensively named Upper and Lower Zambezi Navigation, Exploration, Trading, Land-acquiring and Colonization Company, Limited, arrived in

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[27] Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 86, says that Wiese visited Mpezeni in 1881. Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 71, in another tentative chronology, follows him, although there is no mention of this visit in the body of Poole's book. Wiese himself appears not to mention any date earlier than 1885. See 40.

[28] 67, fo. 139; 22, fo. 285.

[29] 32, pp. 17-18.

175 the country.[30] They joined Wiese in collecting concessions from
439 the surrounding chiefs.[31]

A legal procedure for registering and recognizing concessions
175 within the British sphere was established by Johnston on 18 July
439 1891.[32] Without recognition by Johnston's Land Court, a con-
640 cession did not of itself establish a clear right to title under British law. The issue of this proclamation may have been prompted by Wiese's actions. In June, shortly before it was issued, Wiese was travelling to Europe with his concessions. He met Johnston at Quilimane and asked him to recognize them.[33] Johnston refused to do this. He particularly objected to the concession from Mpezeni, not only for its monopolies but also because it had not been signed by Mpezeni but only by a Portuguese allegedly acting on the chief's behalf, and because Mpezeni did not control the large area mentioned in the concession. Such land as he did control he had obtained only by dispossessing the earlier inhabitants. Johnston regarded Wiese as a slave trader who forced chiefs to make their mark on documents without explaining what the documents meant and without making any payment for the concessions obtained. He maintained that Mpezeni had never granted any rights to Wiese and wrote of the concession: 'I always refused to recognize his preposterous document.' He complained that Wiese tried to 'bounce the British Government into recognition of his (wholly unfounded) claims'. Johnston later argued that in order to conclude eight of his other treaties, Wiese must have travelled five hundred miles between 20 December and 23 January, an improbable occurrence.[34] Acting on this policy Johnston insisted, at Quilimane, that he must examine Wiese's concessions before he could pronounce on them. Wiese made a declaration before Johnston's deputy describing the concessions and went on his way to Europe, he maintaining he had thereby registered his concessions and Johnston maintaining he had not.[35]

Wiese's agents in London began corresponding with the Foreign Office in December 1891 pressing for the recognition of his concessions. In January 1892 Wiese offered his services to Johnston as an agent, and in March repeated the offer. He seems to have mentioned the possibility of his leading the Ngoni in battle on behalf of the Administration. Johnston rejected these offers contemptuously along with similar offers made by Bowler, saying that he wanted Bowler and Wiese to remain in Europe. He also remained adamant in his refusal to recognize Wiese's concessions, although the Foreign Office itself continued to prevaricate on this issue.[36] 175 439 648

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[30] Hole, *Making of Rhodesia*, p. 241; 17, fo. 390-1.

[31] Bradley, 'Salute to adventurers', p. 54, says Wiese bought concessions from Bowler and Rankin.

[32] 36; 58, fo. 420.

[33] 40, p. 33; 49, p. 14; 67, fo. 140; 81, fo. 144-5.

[34] 49; 81, fo. 148.

[35] There is some uncertainty about the date on which Wiese made his statement at Quilimane. Johnston refers to a declaration sworn to by Wiese before the Acting Vice-Consul on 7 June 1891. Bowler's letter to the Foreign Office was supported by a copy of a receipt for a fee paid for witnessing a signature, dated 27 June. cf. 35; 48, p. 15; 71.

In 1891 or 1892 Wiese visited Lisbon in an effort to collect the £2,000 owing to him for his services to the Portuguese during 1888 and the following years. It was, however, in London that he tried to obtain financial backing so that he could begin to exploit his concessions, with or without recognition from Johnston. According to Johnston, Wiese offered his concessions to the Central African and Zoutpansberg Exploration Company, with which the naval explorer Cameron was connected. In August 1892 Wiese told Johnston that he was no longer personally interested in the fate of the concessions. According to a Foreign Office minute, Wiese offered the concessions to the B.S.A. Company for a small sum in January 1893. The search for financial support ended on 18 February 1893 when the Mozambique Gold Land and Concessions Company Limited was incorporated in London to operate Wiese's concessions, for which they paid him £1,500.[37]

The Mozambique Company approached the Foreign Office and were instructed first to register their concessions in Nyasaland. According to Johnston, early in 1893 Bowler sent copies of the concessions to Johnston, who replied that he must produce the originals or certified copies. In April and May 1893 there was an exchange of letters between Wiese and Johnston about the recognition of the concessions, and in the autumn Bowler wrote again on the matter. However, according to Johnston, between June and October 1891 the African Lakes and British South Africa companies had placed claims before his Land Court for recognition in the prescribed manner and no counter-claims were registered there.[38] Therefore, on 25 September 1893 Johnston granted a certificate of claim to the B.S.A. Company, in its commercial capacity, entitling them to exercise mining and other rights throughout the greater part of what was to become North-Eastern Rhodesia and including the whole of Mpezeni's country outside Nyasaland.

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[36] 39; 42; 46, fo. 7; 47, fo. 36; 48; 49; 51; 52; 64, fo. 85-6.

[37] 67, fo. 140; 81, fo. 145; 64, fo. 89 (minute); 230, p. 69; *Maugham report*, p. 6.

[38] 80; 81, fo. 144, 146; 82.

175 The B.S.A. Company produced in its support treaties made by Sharpe and Stevenson with six chiefs, Mpezeni not among them. 439 Johnston's argument for including Mpezeni's country within the 648 area of the grant appears to have been that the land had been wrested by Mpezeni from the treaty-making chiefs. None of the six chiefs mentioned by name in the certificate made any claim in the treaties to rights in Mpezeni's country, and indeed only one of them, Muliro, a minor Nsenga-Ambo chief, bordered on Mpezeni.

However Johnston also refers in the certificate of claim to 'similar privileges obtained through treaties concluded by the African Lakes Company and transferred by them to the British South Africa Company (the said treaties have received separate confirmation at my hands)'. These additional treaties are not specified in the certificate but later Johnston wrote, in connexion with the North Charterland Concession granted by the B.S.A. Company, that 'the B.S.A. Company would base its right to grant this concession on its recognized treaties with Undi, Mwasi Kazungu and ... (I forget the names), the indigenous and partially dispossessed chiefs of Mpezeni's country'. Sharpe had made a treaty with Undi 131 on 15 April 1891, in which the northern boundary of Undi's 175 territory was said to be the parallel of latitude 14° S. or thereabouts, 439 thus cutting into the southern fringe of the no-man's-land round Mpezeni. Mwase made two treaties, one on 17 September 1885 648 with Stevenson as agent of the African Lakes Company and another on 30 November 1889 with the British Crown. In the earlier treaty the extent of Mwase's country is not stated but when the benefits of this treaty were transferred to the B.S.A. Company in 1893, Mwase's country was said to be bounded on the west by the water-parting between the Luangwa and Zambezi-Nyasa basins and on the south by the Anglo-Portuguese border. This water-parting does not meet the Anglo-Portuguese frontier until as far west as about 31° 15′ E., in what is now Petauke District, and in Ngoniland it runs approximately east-west on latitude 13° 49′ S. In the area controlled by Mpezeni, Mwase's territory, as defined in the transfer agreement, included the whole portion claimed by Undi in 1891 and in addition a strip of land to the north of Undi's claim, forming the southern margin of the Ngoni settled area. The main concentration of Ngoni villages, in the valleys of the Lutembwe, Lunthwele and Msipazi rivers, lay just north of the territory 175 claimed for Mwase. Thus the grant of rights to the B.S.A. Company 439 in Mpezeni's country appears to have been based for the most 648 part on treaties made with chiefs whose names Johnston forgot, and possibly also on the 1889 treaty between Mwase and the British Crown.[39] 175

Johnston granted a second certificate of claim, completed on 439
28 September 1893, to the African Lakes and B.S.A. companies 648
jointly, based on the 1891 treaty with Undi and on another made a week later with a neighbouring chief. The area mentioned in this certificate conforms to that laid down in the treaty.[40]

Therefore when Warton arrived in Nyasaland in 1894 as emissary of the Mozambique Company and tried to secure recognition of Wiese's concessions, he found that the area claimed by his company had already been granted to its rivals. He succeeded in registering the concessions but not in gaining recognition of their validity.

Johnston registered, but did not recognize, the Wiese concessions. On the other hand the concessions acquired by the B.S.A. Company, though registered and recognized by Johnston, were not yet confirmed by the Foreign Office. Johnston's conduct of the affair did not meet with approval from his superiors at home, who thought that Warton had been unfairly treated.[41] One consideration influencing the Foreign Office may have been Wiese's German nationality. There had been an Anglo-German Agreement in 1891[42] defining the spheres of influence of these two countries in central Africa, but Maugham suggests that the Foreign Office thought that Wiese, after offering his services to Portugal and Britain, might now turn to Germany who could then use his concessions as the basis of a claim to the territory. At the same time the Foreign Office thought it might be unwise to declare the concessions invalid, since they might sometime be acquired by the B.S.A. Company and be used to strengthen its hand. Wiese, who according to Johnston had run away from Germany to evade conscription, had nevertheless received the support of the German Minister in Lisbon in securing rights to extensive estates in Portuguese East Africa in lieu of the £2,000 he had been promised originally by the Portuguese Government. Johnston suspected Wiese of trying to introduce German methods on his estates and wrote that it would be 'awkward' if the land between Nyasaland and the coast were 'in the hands of a stronger Power than Portugal and one

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[39] 73; 75, fo. 180-1; 76; 7, fo. 33; 158, p. 61. I am much indebted to Sir Dougal Malcolm and the British South Africa Company for permission to cite the 1885 treaty and the transfer agreement of 1893. Unfortunately I have been unable to trace the 1889 treaty.

[40] 74.

[41] 85.

[42] *A & P*, 1890, li, pp. 24-31.

175 far less likely to yield its pretensions'. These considerations found
439 expression in the agreement of 24 November 1894, allowing the
B.S.A. Company to take over from Johnston the administration of
648 its sphere north of the Zambezi. The Foreign Office stipulated that sanction for the treaties made by the B.S.A. Company's agents was to be without prejudice to Wiese's possible claims.[43]

The Mozambique Company opened negotiations with the B.S.A. Company with these registered but unrecognized concessions as their asset. Agreement was reached on 8 May 1895. In return for any rights they might have in the British sphere under Wiese's concessions, and conditional on their raising certain capital, the Mozambique Company were granted mineral and land rights in a block of land ten thousand square miles in extent within the B.S.A. Company's territory. The rights of Natives were to be respected. Any rights the Mozambique Company might have in Portuguese territory were not to be exercised. A new company, the North Charterland Exploration Company, in which the B.S.A. Company had an interest, was formed to operate the grant of land. Thus the North Charterland Concession came into being. The whole of Mpezeni's country, except for that portion included in the Nyasaland Protectorate, came within the Concession.[44]

Some thirty-five years later, Mr. Justice Maugham was to rule that this grant to the Mozambique Company could only have been potential, not actual, since at that time the B.S.A. Company did not yet possess the mineral and other rights they were making over. At the time this consideration carried no weight. In April 1895, even before agreement with the B.S.A. Company had been concluded, the Mozambique Company's pioneer party reached Tete. They arrived in Ngoniland in the following year.[45]

4. *European consolidation*

175 In Nyasaland fighting continued sporadically in an attempt to
end the slave trade. From 1891 onwards Johnston's troops fought
439 a series of engagements with Arabs, Yao and southern Ngoni.
567 Mpezeni was regarded not only as a robber with whom no treaties
648 were necessary but also as a partner in the slave trade, for one of
721 the main routes used by Arabs and their African colleagues ran near Mpezeni's country.[46] All Ngoni raids were interpreted by the Nyasaland Administration as raids for slaves and Sharpe, describing his second visit to Mpezeni, wrote that the chief did a brisk

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[43] 67, fo. 141-2; 95, p. 48.

[44] 99; 100.

[45] *Maugham report*, pp. 6-7.

[46] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 3 (1 February 1896), p. 2, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1.

trade in slaves, selling them to the Arabs.[47] Wiese's evidence on 175
this point is contradictory. In 1881 he wrote that Arab caravans 439
continually visited Mpezeni and that most of the raids were to 567
capture slaves for sale to the Arabs. In 1900, he wrote in one 648
place that some captives were sold to the Arabs and in another that 721
Mpezeni scarcely knew of the permanent slave hunters and that the sole object of major raids was to gain captives to cultivate the Ngoni fields.[48] Few tales of the Arabs and no nicknames have survived to the present time among the Ngoni, and it is probable that Sharpe was overestimating the importance to Mpezeni of the external slave trade. Although Livingstone knew it, Wiese and Kerr are the only contemporary writers who were aware that captives were assimilated,[49] for other writers do not distinguish between captives and slaves. Whether or not the raids were made for Ngoni recruits or for slaves to be sold to the Arabs, it is clear that they were often made into Nyasaland and thus challenged the Administration there. Towards the end of 1895 the Collector at
Kotakota opened a campaign against Mwase Kasungu, the Cewa 175
chief whose territory lay between Mpezeni and the Ngoni of 439
northern Nyasaland. It is alleged that Mpezeni offered to help 648
Mwase in this campaign, but it seems that no help arrived. On 31 December 1895 the fortified village of Kasungu was captured and Chabisa, a chief who had been helping Mwase, fled to Mpezeni.[50]

Chabisa may have been the moving spirit behind the delegation which early in 1896 went from Mpezeni to the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland calling on them to rise with him and Chabisa against
the British.[51] The Livingstonia Mission had already been working [797]
among the northern Ngoni for eighteen years, and the delegation found little support.

As well as Chabisa, other refugees arrived from the south, after the First Matabele War of 1893 in Southern Rhodesia. According to some accounts the Ndebele Paramount Chief, Lobengula, was with them, only to die a few months later.[52]

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[47] Sharpe, 'Lake Nyasa', p. 745. cf. Perham, *Ten Africans*, p. 96.

[48] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 478 and 'Geschichte', pp. 188 and 197.

[49] Livingstone, *Narrative*, p. 385; Kerr, 'Upper Zambesi', p. 396.

[50] Swann, the Collector, in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1, and *A & P*, 1896, lviii, pp. 417, 418, describes Chabisa and Mwase as Ngoni and Zulu chiefs. Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168, say Mwase and Chabisa were brothers. It is unlikely that either was Ngoni. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 144, calls Mwase a Cewa but says he had many Ngoni headmen under him, thereby amending his earlier statements that Mwase and Undi were Ngoni. See 20, fo. 129; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 412.

[51] Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 292.

[52] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2; Lancaster, 'Tentative chronology', p. 83; Posselt, *Upengula*, pp. 112-24; 98; 121, fo. 193.

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Meanwhile there was a lull in European activity in Mpezeni's country itself. After Wiese and the Portuguese officer left in mid-1891 a Portuguese trader remained behind. He was subsequently killed, either by accident or on Mpezeni's instructions.[54] After sending envoys to Johnston on Lake Nyasa in January 1890 and reporting the death of the Portuguese trader, Mpezeni seems not to have made any attempts to get in touch with Europeans for some years. Johnston sent an influential Swahili headman to visit Mpezeni in 1891, but Mpezeni threatened to behead the messenger if he entered Ngoniland, and he turned back before reaching the country.[55] In 1892 Ngoni patrols sweeping to the south in Undi's country came in touch with a French explorer living there and some of them were killed by his men. In 1895 they made contact with him again and he visited a senior lieutenant of segment 4.[56]

But the Frenchman was a bird of passage. It was not until 5 December 1895 that prospectors arrived with the intention of remaining in the country. They represented the Rhodesia Concessions Company and began to build Fort Partridge at Mafuta's, only twenty miles to the north of Mpezeni.[57] In the face of Johnston's opposition they had been allowed to bring Maxim guns with them. Despite the threat to Mpezeni implicit in this, they were at first received hospitably. Later the Ngoni became less friendly towards them, due, they thought, to the arrival of Chabisa and the Ndebele refugees and also because of the news reaching Mpezeni of increasing British activity in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia. In May 1896 the prospectors thought that they might all be massacred and appealed for help to Kotakota. Troops were moved up from the Lake to Kasungu but, as we have mentioned above, they withdrew when it was found that the prospectors were in no danger. Nevertheless the prospectors left Ngoniland on 13 June, not for fear of Mpezeni but because the North Charterland complained that they were poaching on its preserves.[58] Thus the control of Europeans in his country had already passed out of Mpezeni's hands.

There were a number of transient visitors to Mpezeni in 1896,[59] and the B.S.A. Company's representative paid a visit, but

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[54] 67, fo. 140.

[55] 81, fo. 147-8.

[56] Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, p. 281, and *Big game*, pp. 84, 105. In another account, 'Traversée de l'Afrique', p. 113, Foà says he visited the lieutenant in 1892.

[57] See Map C.

[58] 97; 101, fo. 483; 102, fo. 479; 113, fo. 41; 115, fo. 281; 125; 126; 148a, fo. 141; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 2, and iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 2; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 12.

[59] McClonnie, Smith and Fraser, reported in *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 10 (15 May 1896), p. 1, and iii, 13 (1 July 1896), p. 2.

the most serious intrusion was from the direction of Tete. After his 175
return to Africa in 1892, Wiese had occupied himself with his
newly won estates in the Zambezi Valley, where his activities 439
attracted the unfavourable attention of Johnston. His interests in 648
Mpezeni's country took second place for a while, despite his letter to Johnston about them on 14 May 1893. It appears that when the Mozambique Company's party arrived at Tete in April 1895 they made contact with Wiese. Thereafter he was closely connected with the activities of the Mozambique Company and of its successor, the North Charterland. The exact course of events is not clear. Johnston reported on 24 March 1896 that Wiese had broken with the North Charterland, yet when Warton visited Mpezeni four months later as leader of the North Charterland delegation, Wiese was with him as interpreter.[60]

At the beginning of 1896 representatives of the North Charterland first arrived in Ngoni country. After a short time, one of them was expelled by Mpezeni. On 5 July 1896 Warton with the main party established the North Charterland headquarters at a camp, later known as Fort Young, in the heart of Ngoniland adjacent to Loangeni, headquarters of segment 10.[61]

At first Mpezeni treated the North Charterland party kindly and provided them with carriers to bring up their loads from Tete.[62] According to the Foreign Office, whose sources of information I cannot trace, Mpezeni was friendly because Wiese emphasized that he was a German and offered himself and the expedition as a bulwark against British expansion. Warton, the ex-secretary of a cricket team and sometime lieutenant-colonel, posed, it was said, as Wiese's elder brother.[63] These allegations were denied by Warton and Wiese. They pointed out that the first member of the North Charterland party to enter Ngoniland had been an Englishman and maintained that Mpezeni was too intelligent not to recognize for himself the difference between an Englishman and a German. Warton had been introduced by Wiese merely as *okullo-ango* [*mkulu wangu*, my superior]. They maintained that the British flag had always been flown with the North Charterland's own flag.[64] Warton and Wiese's testimony conflicts with the Ngoni recollection

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[60] *Maugham report*, p. 7; 121, fo. 192; 163; 164; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12*f*.

[61] 121, fo. 192; 163; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 71. Deare, who never mentions Warton or Wiese by name, claims to have been first to build the fort. Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.

[62] Forbes in *C.A.P.*, 15 November 1896; Warton in *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April; 148a, fo. 141.

[63] 160, p. 64; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 12; Read, 'Tradition', p. 478.

[64] 163; 164.

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439 648 of these events, as recorded by Read, and with the contemporary account of Genthe. Genthe was a German traveller who always flew a British flag in central Africa. There was no flag at Warton's camp when he visited it in 1897 and the North Charterland asked him not to display his Union Jack. Whatever may really have happened, an explanation of the North Charterland's success by reference to its anti-British pose conflicts with the evidence of Mpezeni's missions of friendship to the Collector at Kotakota. Deare, one of the North Charterland party, gives the impression that the success of the expedition was due to his ability to speak Zulu, make the right presents, and diagnose the cause of illness in Mpezeni's cattle. This explanation seems just as likely.[65]

It seems probable that Mpezeni was prepared to be friendly with the British at a distance but did not want them on his doorstep. We have noted his deputation to Johnston in January 1890. Early in 1896 Mpezeni sent a mission to the Collector at Kotakota asking for a British flag. Surprisingly this overture seems not to have been followed up. Swann, the Collector, did, however, send twelve beasts as a present to Mpezeni who replied, after prompting from Swann, with a gift of ivory.[66] In September Mpezeni sent word to the Collector that he had punished his warriors who had attacked some B.S.A. Company's carriers. In October his envoys told the Collector that he did not allow raiding and that he was glad to hear of raiders being punished when they were caught, while in February 1897 he appealed through his messengers to the Administration for help in restraining his people from raiding inside Nyasaland.

Wiese accompanied Mpezeni's envoys on this last trip to Kotakota and according to a North Charterland account of their mission, Mpezeni then consented to the introduction of a British garrison in his territory.[67] Even towards Warringham, the B.S.A. Company's representative, he was friendly at first. In about June 1896 he exchanged presents with him and made many expressions of good will, though telling Warringham that he was not afraid to meet him in war if necessary.[68]

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[65] Genthe, 'Mpezeni's', p. 1; 165; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 20, 27 April, 4 May.

[66] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 4 (15 February 1896), p. 1, and iii, 8 (15 April 1896), p. 1; *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 427; Swann, *Slave hunters*, pp. 315-16.

[67] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 12 (15 June 1896), p. 1; iii, 18 (1 October 1896), p. 2; iii, 22 (1 December 1896), p. 3; iv, 4 (1 March 1897), p. 3; and iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1; 165.

[68] *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 15 (1 August 1896), p. 3; Money and Smith, 'Explorations', p. 168.

5. *Friction*

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On 14 May 1897 Mpezeni wrote to the Collector at Kotakota that he wished to move across the border into the Protectorate. He said, 'If you agree to my removing . . . I shall not raid anywhere.' He was prepared to pay tax if called upon to do so.[69] He may have been led to take this drastic step by his growing annoyance at the activities of Warton and the North Charterland party. In 1896 Warton had apparently enjoyed Mpezeni's approval but he soon began to displease him. Johnston, who had no high opinion of his fellow-men, described Warton as 'that not very capable or prudent man' and as 'not a bad man but not very trustworthy'. The North Charterland was a purely commercial company and Warton had no administrative powers. These were reserved under the charter to the B.S.A. Company and were exercised on its behalf by Johnston until 1 July 1895, when Forbes was appointed Administrator for the B.S.A. Company's sphere. As yet, however, in Johnston's view, the B.S.A. Company had no governing rights in Mpezeni's country, as neither Mpezeni, nor the chiefs he was held to have displaced, had ceded them.[70] Forbes's nearest representatives were Warringham and Middleton, who in March 1896 made a camp sixty miles to the north of Mpezeni in the country of Cinunda, a Cewa chief. Forbes visited Mpezeni in September 1896, but with no success.[71] Warton considered that in the absence of any action by the B.S.A. Company he must set up his own administration. He drew up elaborate plans for developing the country, calling for an armed police force and for a hut tax of 5*s*.[72] He believed, he said, that if Mpezeni were convinced that the North Charterland had sufficient force available, he would not resist them.[73] He may have been influenced in adopting this attitude by the remark he attributed to the chief that if he was seriously threatened by Europeans he would give way. This conflicts with Mpezeni's remark to Warringham that he was quite prepared to fight, which we have noted above. According to Johnston, Warton tried to force a flag on Mpezeni and to stop him raiding for slaves. Johnston seems not to have been impressed with the delegations to Kotakota and maintained that Mpezeni organized raids to spite Warton.[74]

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[69] 167.

[70] 169, fo. 63; 171, fo. 161; 158, p. 63; *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 2, cols. 1 and 3; *A & P.*, 1896, lviii, p. 425.

[71] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 71; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 19 (15 October 1896), p. 2.

[72] Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12-13.

[73] 122.

[74] 132, p. 59; 158, p. 62.

[Text continues on page 85]

MAP C. WHITE SETTLEMENTS IN NGONILAND
1890–1900

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● 648
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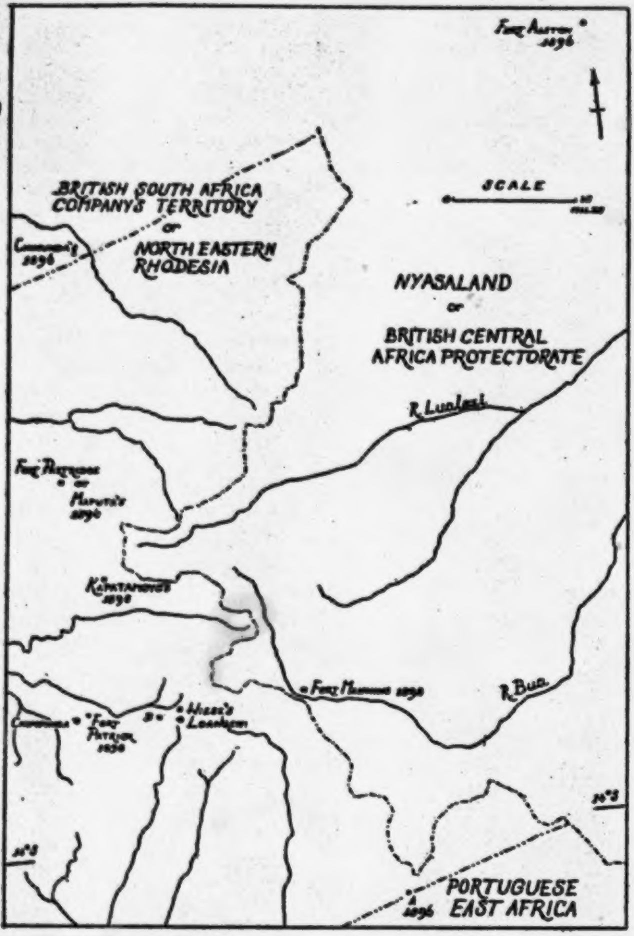
1896
SCALE
BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S TERRITORY or NORTH EASTERN RHODESIA
1896
NYASALAND or BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE
Maputa's 1896
Kapatamoyo's 1898
Fort Manning 1898
R. Bua
Wiese's
Loangeni
B
A 1896
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

- – · – · – White territorial boundaries.
- – · · – · · – North Charterland Concession, northern boundary.
- ▪ White settlements, with date of foundation.
- A Camp near Misale known in 1896 as FORT YOUNG.
- B Brick building known from 1898 onwards as FORT YOUNG or FORT ETTAMEIA.

FORT JAMESON. The name applied in 1896 to a camp at CHINUNDA'S; possibly in October 1897 to MAPUTA'S; from December 1897 until March 1898 to CHINUNDA'S; and from October 1898 onwards to the township founded at KAPATAMOYO'S.

FORT YOUNG. The name applied in 1896 to a camp (A) at Misale; in 1897 and 1898 to a camp, also known as WIESE'S or CHAKWANA, near the village of Loangeni; and from later in 1898 onwards to a brick building (B) about two miles farther west.

LOANGENI. Ngoni village, headquarters of segment 10.

CHINUNDA. Ngoni village, headquarters of segment 15, also known as MPEZENI'S.

[p. 84]

6. *Fighting*

The European travellers who came to Ngoniland did not 175
come alone. They brought with them their own retinues of servants 439
and carriers, usually not Ngoni, who took orders only from their 648
own masters and over whose misdoings there was continual friction with the Ngoni.[75] Wiese had an armed guard of a hundred and twenty Makua, though later this was disbanded.[76] Mpezeni insisted that the so-called Fort Young should not have a stockade but only a low reed fence, presumably to prevent the North Charterland from putting themselves beyond the reach of his warriors.[77] On the other hand Warton and the North Charterland directors were insistent that their employees should be armed, sought permission from the Foreign Office to import arms through Nyasaland, and even threatened to withdraw if the B.S.A. Company did not make adequate arrangements for their protection. Johnston was firmly opposed to private armies and private wars, and the Foreign Office advocated that if the North Charterland was in a precarious position it should withdraw until an administration had been established. Eventually Johnston came round to the view that the B.S.A. Company was so committed in Southern Rhodesia that it could not provide the North Charterland with the protection it was entitled to, and that, therefore, the North Charterland had a reasonable claim to arms of its own. Accordingly in July 1896, he reluctantly approved the import of two Maxim guns 'for eventual use against Mpezeni'. These Maxims seem never to have arrived, but Deare successfully smuggled in thirty rifles.[78] Thus the stage was set for struggle by persuasion to give way to struggle by arms.

At the same time as they were thus altering the distribution of power within Ngoni country, the European intruders were developing external relations with other African groups which were incompatible with the raided-raiding relationship existing between them and the Ngoni. Wiese had trading-stations in other tribal areas,[79] and we have already noted his plans for building up a large trading business based on the labour of his wife's slaves. Genthe was friendly with Cewa and Kunda chiefs and on that account tried to represent their interests to Mpezeni after they had been raided.[80] Deare went to visit Cimwala and Undi, Cewa chiefs, in about January

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[75] e.g. the affair of the stolen red blankets, described by Deare, 'Slave raiders', 4 May.

[76] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

[77] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.

[78] [illegible], pp. 57-8; 129-33; 139-42; 149; 155; 156.

[79] [illegible]

[80] *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), pp. 1-2.

175 1897 and some time later they came to visit him at Fort Young.
439 Deare gave them presents, presumably to gain their support for his own enterprises, and makes no mention of their seeing Mpezeni.[81]
648 Undi was the chief who claimed part of Mpezeni's country in his treaty with Sharpe and who in 1892, when Foà was living in his
[721] village, was raided by Ngoni several times a month.[82] Thus the Europeans in Ngoniland were affiliated not only to European groups in Nyasaland and in England out of direct touch with Mpezeni but also with African groups with whom he was in contact. There was an essential contradiction in the situation in which, for example, Deare was friendly with both Mpezeni and Undi while Mpezeni was at war with Undi. Everywhere, not only in Nyasaland, the traditional Ngoni pattern of external relations was becoming incompatible with their relations with Europeans in their midst.

The leader of the opposition to the North Charterland was Nsingu, Mpezeni's heir.[83] Nsingu was at first friendly towards Warton but later his attitude changed. Deare, before establishing the North Charterland camp in 1896, had passed through Nsingu's
[576] village, by Ngoni standards an insulting thing to do, and later quarrelled with him, finally flogging him.[84] Genthe, the German traveller, met Nsingu on a path and only grudgingly gave way to let him pass.[85] While Mpezeni remained comparatively friendly, Nsingu and the warriors whose interests he came to represent became increasingly hostile towards all Europeans. At the same time Mpezeni's control over his lieutenants seems not to have been effective, as evidenced by his apparent inability to prevent unauthorized raiding. Deare, according to his own account, enjoyed Mpezeni's favour and was almost forced to marry one of his daughters, and yet Mashanga, the second lieutenant of segment 10, twice tried to kill him.[86] According to Genthe, Mpezeni sent repeatedly for some army leaders who had been raiding and they failed to appear. This may have been deliberate procrastination arranged by Mpezeni, who treated him coldly, but Genthe thought that Mpezeni was only a dummy whose lieutenants did what they liked.[87] With Deare there seems to have been a genuine difference in attitude between Mashanga on the one side and on the other Mpezeni, supported by Mcekwani, the first lieutenant over

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[81] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 4 May.
[82] Foà, *Lac Nyassa*, pp. 280-1.
[83] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.
[84] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April.
[85] *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 1.
[86] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. cf. Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.
[87] Genthe, 'Mpezeni's'.

Mashanga. Swann appears to have believed Mpezeni sincerely wished 175
to stop raiding into the Protectorate although his people continued 439
to do so.[88] 648

The cleavage within the tribe between Chief and people 643
was attributed by Wiese to the large number of captives who had
been incorporated.[89] We may well ask whether there had not 727
always been considerable fluidity in the distribution of power 631
among the different branches of the royal house and their sup- 175
porters. After the death of Zwangendaba there was factional
fighting, and at least once on the march north, about 1840, there [578]
was a purge in which the original members of the tribe, presumably
Ndandwe by origin, killed off many of the more recently incorpor-
ated Tsonga who had been promoted at their expense.[90] These
struggles show clearly that the formal arrangement of segments
within the residential system did not preclude struggles for power [662]
within that system. The decline in power of Mpezeni and the rise
of his heir must indeed be seen as part of the normal operation of
the system rather than the result of manipulation or of unusual
external conditions.

Wiese anticipated that there would be fighting on the death of 175
Mpezeni.[91] Some idea of the way in which the fight would have 643
gone in the new circumstances of European contact is given by 648
Wiese's statement, in 1891, that Nzermane would not submit to
Nsingu on Mpezeni's death and that he would be the best successor as far as the interests of Portugal were concerned.[92] Later, Deare remarked that the 'king had two other sons, younger than Tsinko, named Zamane and Madzimai, whom I never saw, but I learnt much about them and had fixed my eye on the former for the succession if anything happened'.[93] When British troops had already begun their advance on Ngoni, Manning, their commander, hoped that the tribe would split into factions, some of which would side with him.[94]

Fighting between rival claimants for the throne was likely even
without external backing for one candidate. We have only to turn 171
to Zululand for an analogous situation in which there was fighting 643

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[88] Swann's report for 1896, *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 7 (15 April 1897), p. 1.

[89] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 187.

[90] See p. 19. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, p. 24; Chibambo, *My Ngoni*, p. 23; cf. Young, *History*, p. 112, who reverses the role played by witch-finders in this incident.

[91] As reported by Warton in June 1896, cited by Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 13.

[92] Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 493.

[93] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May. In modern spelling, Nsingu, Nzermane, and Madzimawi.

[94] 181, fo. 39.

171 between rival heirs even while the occupant of the throne was still
643 alive. The brothers Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi fought for the
heirship while their father Mpande was still chief.[96]

The apparent ineffectiveness of Mpezeni's rule may well have
175 been due to the increasing segmentation of the State as it expanded
643 and to the growing differentiation of interest between one major
648 segment and another. As it happened, there was no civil war and
669 the tribe did not split, at least not in these terms. A cleavage in the
royal house did reveal itself later, in 1903, after British rule had
begun, when Madzimawi tried to take the name of Zwangendaba
and was opposed by the supporters of Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu.
But by then the form of the State was already determined by
political forces other than the balanced opposition of segments. It
is significant of the changed situation that Madzimawi did not send
his armed followers against the new Mpezeni to challenge his
succession. Instead he applied to the Native Commissioner for
permission to take the name of his grandfather.[97]

Instead of dividing in civil war the whole country united against the European interlopers. Mpezeni alone tried to protect his friend Wiese. The effective cleavage was not between rival heirs but between the Paramount Chief and his people. He was now a man in his sixties who seemed not to want war and who perhaps benefited more than his people from the presents made by Europeans. The Ngoni people continued to believe and teach that fighting was the proper occupation for men. An attempt to exploit this cleavage was made in 1897 when Wiese, perhaps remembering his earlier attempt to serve Portugal and Britain simultaneously, offered his services to the B.S.A. Company. Forbes thought that if Wiese was given troops, he would be supported by Mpezeni, who would then be in a position to hold Nsingu and the Ngoni warriors in check.[98] But this plan was overtaken by events.

We saw in the previous chapter that the organization of the
64 State was based on warfare, not only on war as an activity bringing
721 prestige to successful warriors but also on war as a method of
recruitment to the ever-widening segments of the residential
system. Without warfare to eliminate the unsuccessful and to bring
175 promotion and dependants to those who survived, the system could
439 not keep going. It was in no sense inevitable that the Fort Jameson
648 Ngoni and the British should fight; we have only to turn to the

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[96] Gluckman, 'Kingdom of the Zulu', pp. 35-6, and *Malinowski's Sociological Theories*, pp. 19-20; Krige, *Social system of the Zulu*, p. 19.

[97] See pp. 139 *f*.

[98] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 14.

Ngoni of northern Nyasaland for a similar situation which ended 175
in the relatively peaceful incorporation of the tribe into the frame- 439
work of colonial administration. But in northern Nyasaland there 648
were no gold-mines, there were only missionaries. Johnston admits
that the presence of mission stations among the northern Nyasaland [797]
Ngoni embarrassed him, and he refrained from using force against them in 1895 because this might have interfered with missionary activity.[99] In Mpezeni's country there were no mission stations and, as it happened, no gold-mines worth worrying about either; but by the time this fact had been realized it had ceased to be significant for the Ngoni. The North Charterland was formed in the belief that Mpezeni's country was rich. The capital of the company, not all paid up, was £1,000,000 and in 1897 it offered a reward of £10,000 to the discoverer of the first payable gold-field in its concession.[100] Given the fact that wealth of this magnitude was at stake, that there was gold to be found, and given the tactlessness of Warton and the intransigence of Nsingu, it was likely that war would come sooner or later.

As it was, the end of the Ngoni State as a sovereign political unit and its incorporation within a colonial empire came suddenly. Instead of the gradual formation of new groupings and alignments, the new system began as suddenly as the old system ended. We tend to think of the arrival of Europeans in the backwoods of Africa as a gradual process extending through many decades, and indeed even in Ngoniland there were Europeans for at least thirteen years prior to the war. Yet to old Ngoni of to-day the coming of the Europeans is a precisely defined event which took place on 19 January 1898.

The sequence of events which culminated in the fighting was as follows. In May 1897 some of Mpezeni's people began to build [342]
shelters and clear gardens at the headwaters of the River Bua, just [241]
inside the Nyasaland Protectorate. Sharpe, who had succeeded Johnston as Commissioner, was at first not greatly pleased, but instructed the Collector at Kotakota to make clear to Mpezeni that he would have to conform to the wishes of the Administration. A peaceful settlement between Mpezeni and the British seemed possible, and on second thoughts Sharpe was pleased to see, as he thought, Mpezeni removed from the sphere of influence of the North Charterland and the B.S.A. Company, who might have taken action against him and precipitated a crisis. However, the Collector was single-handed and it seems that he was unable to

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[99] *A & P*, 1896, lviii, p. 437.

[100] *African Review*, xiii, 254 (2 October 1897), p. 24.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

175 439 648 visit Mpezeni to arrange a peaceful settlement with him.[101] In any case, although some movement of population may well have taken place, Mpezeni and the greater part of his people remained outside the Protectorate and in the Concession. In October 1897 Warringham, the B.S.A. Company's Collector at Cinunda's, moved in closer to Ngoniland and occupied the abandoned Fort Partridge, twenty miles north of Mpezeni. A month or so later, he appears to have found it prudent to move back again to Cinunda's.[102]

In December Manning, acting as Commissioner while Sharpe was on leave, was told by a North Charterland official at Chikwakwa, on the Shire, that Mpezeni's warriors were said to have murdered two Europeans on their way from Tete. This report was not confirmed. On 28 December[103] news arrived from Warringham that he at Cinunda's and Wiese at Fort Young were in danger of attack and could not communicate with each other. On 4 January there was news that Wiese was safe. According to his own account, Wiese was secretly warned by Mpezeni of the planned attack on him and had time 'on the next dark night' to build a small fortification into which he retired.[104] However, Wiese and his two European companions thought themselves still in danger and on 9 January wrote to the North Charterland general manager and to Warringham at Cinunda's asking for help and arms.[105]

175 649 726 439 Meanwhile a force of about seven hundred troops was organized by Manning in Nyasaland. Warringham at Cinunda's was reinforced but on 9 January he reported that Ngoni raids were preventing him from collecting provisions. The next day there was news that Wiese, now with three other Europeans, was still surrounded at Fort Young and that the Ngoni had mustered fully forty thousand fighting men. The rear troops, whose progress

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[101] 171, fo. 61; 172, fo. 172; 173.

[102] Poole implies, but does not specifically mention, the move back to Cinunda's. In 1897 Genthe referred to the Cinunda camp as Fort Jameson and according to Poole this name was transferred to Fort Partridge when Warringham moved there. If so, the name must have been transferred back again with Warringham, for the Fort Jameson mentioned in reports of the fighting, both by Poole and in *B.C.A.G.* and dispatches, is the Cinunda camp. On the other hand, the new Fort Jameson established at Kapatamoyo's after the war is said to have been some twenty miles south of the earlier station of the same name. cf. *B.C.A.G.*, iv, 13 (1 August 1897), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 71; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 12, 14-15, 19. The name Fort Young was also moved about, being at first applied to a camp near Missale. cf. *C.A.P.*, 15 November 1896, p. 5, and 1 December 1896, p. 3.

[103] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 15, says this message reached Kotakota on 21 December. This seems unlikely, for Manning states that he received the news at Zomba by wire from Kotakota on the morning of 28 December. cf. 174; 175, fo. 376; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 1 (15 January 1898), p. 1.

[104] Wiese, 'Geschichte', pp. 186*ff.*

[105] 177-80.

towards Ngoniland had been halted after the report of 4 January, 175
resumed their march.

Four companies under Captain Brake reached Cinunda's on 648
17 January and left the next day for Fort Partridge, which was 726
burnt by Ngoni as they arrived. On 19 January they moved on 439
towards Fort Young. After some skirmishing they arrived there at 5.20 p.m. and relieved Wiese and his companions. Fort Young was only a few hundred yards outside Loangeni, headquarters of segment 10, and in the morning Brake found that this village and others near by, including Nsingu's, were full of warriors. Accordingly he decided not to withdraw to Fort Partridge as he had intended and sent his troops to clear the villages and burn them down. Later in the day there was organized fighting but in the face of fire from seven-pounders and Maxims the Ngoni lost heavily. The number of Ngoni warriors involved was estimated at from 4,000 to 5,000.[108]

On the next day, 21 January, Mpezeni sent messengers to 175
Captain Brake with a present of a sheep. Brake regarded this poor 439
present as an insult and insisted that he would negotiate only with
important lieutenants. The next day, five messengers arrived with 648
twelve head of cattle, but Brake regarded the messengers as slaves 728
and said that if a lieutenant did not come the next day, he would deal with Cimpinga, headquarters of segment 15 where Mpezeni was living, as he had dealt with Nsingu's village. On 23 January a lieutenant and an important man arrived to see Brake and were interviewed by him the next day. They stated that Mpezeni was weary of the war brought on by the misconduct of his sons, and that he placed himself in Brake's hands to impose what conditions of peace he might choose. When Brake arrived at Cimpinga on 25 January he was met by two men who said that Mpezeni had gone into hiding outside the village. Brake told them to tell Mpezeni to come, otherwise the village would be destroyed. Brake waited until 5 p.m. and then burnt the village except for Mpezeni's own hut and those of his wives. The next day Lt. Sharp, with five men, succeeded in encountering Mpezeni, who had fifty men with him. Mpezeni asked for twenty minutes' grace while his wives got away and managed to slip away himself.

The main body of troops under Manning arrived at Cimpinga on 28 January. Manning sent out messengers to inform the Ngoni that unless Nsingu was handed over by the night of 30 January, troops would 'penetrate to every valley in Mpezeni's country and punish every village where opposition was encountered'. Manning

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[108] cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 475; Bradley, *Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 44-5.

175 439 648 728 received defiant answers to his messages and on 31 January dispatched four columns each of about two hundred men to sweep the eastern portion of the country. On 3 February Nsingu was surrounded by troops and surrendered to them. Manning tried Nsingu by court martial for murder, instigating to murder and raiding in British territory. He was found guilty and shot on 4 February in the presence of all captured lieutenants. On 5 February another column visited the southern portion of the country. Manning left the country the next day. He recommended, possibly on Deare's advice, that Mpezeni should be allowed to return as chief.

Mpezeni voluntarily surrendered to Brake on 9 February and was told he would be allowed to resettle and that his people could reoccupy their villages. A great number of these must, however, have been burnt by the troops, for even on 23 January Brake had reported that in one district there was hardly a village or hut left standing. More villages had been destroyed by the columns sent out by Manning.[107]

After Mpezeni's surrender, Brake continued trying to capture other important people thought to have been supporters of Nsingu, but it seems no more villages were burnt. Some leaders went into hiding, other like Madzimawi fled west to Nsenga country, while Mlonyeni, head of segment 6, went to Mwambera's country in northern Nyasaland. Mpezeni had at first been instructed to live in a village near his former home at Cimpinga, but was later moved to an Ngoni village near Fort Manning, which Brake was then building just inside the Nyasaland border. After a year he was allowed to return to the centre of his country and was reinstated as chief. He died from natural causes soon afterwards on 21 September 1900.[108] The leaders who had fled drifted back and no further action was taken against them. Some people began to cultivate their gardens again and to make shelters.[109] Others, particularly Cewa who had been captured only a short while before 1898, left Ngoniland and either returned to their former tribal areas or moved on elsewhere.

175 439 648 Although fighting between Ngoni and British ceased, there was still some scrapping between the North Charterland and the

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[107] For the preceding paragraphs. see 176, fo. 372-4; 181; 184-90; 193-5; 198; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 1-3 (15 January, 5 and 26 February 1898), p. 1 of each issue; Poole, *Native tribes*, pp. 14-16, 71; Baxter, 'Angoni rebellion', p. 17 (map); Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May.

[108] *B.C.A.G.*, 118, vii, 9 (30 September 1900), p. 3. In view of this newspaper report the statement that Mpezeni died in October, made in *Reports on the Administration 31 March* 1902 and followed by Poole and others, must be wrong.

[109] 201; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16; Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 42; Stigand, 'Natives of Nyasaland', p. 126.

B.S.A. Company's administration which now began to operate in 175
Mpezeni's country itself. Each had its own African police force and 439
on one occasion two people who had been taken prisoner by the 648
Administration's police were released by a party of North Charterland police. The North Charterland police then arrested the Administration's police, and it was necessary for troops to come from Nyasaland to release them and arrest the North Charterland men.[110] By the end of 1899, however, conditions had become more settled. The B.S.A. Administration had acquired effective control over the whole of Mpezeni's country outside Nyasaland.

The military operations in December 1897 and in 1898 were carried out during the wet season and in consequence there was much sickness among the troops. Although it was not the time of year which the Europeans would have chosen for a campaign, according to one of my informants Warringham had been advised by an Ngoni man whose support he had gained that he should arrange for the war to take place while all the warriors were away from the immediate vicinity of Fort Young attending the national
first fruits ceremony at the headquarters of segment 4, the village [796]
of Zwangendaba's great wife. The descendants of this man are still regarded as traitors by other Ngoni. The first fruits ceremony was usually held about the new year, so that the war may in fact have followed immediately after the ceremony. This view is supported by the remark made by Harding, who arrived in Ngoniland a few months after the war was over. He said that the war 'arose over a highly strung official [presumably Warringham] mistaking an ordinary Native dance for an act of hostility towards the Administration'.[111] Whatever the truth in the matter, the first fruits ceremony would have been an appropriate time for Nsingu to call for an attack on the Whites.

7. *Cattle*

It has been estimated that before the war there were about 231
20,000 head of cattle in Mpezeni's country.[112] During the fighting
many were taken from Ngoni by Protectorate troops. These animals 648
became the subject of much recrimination. Read states that half 727
the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot', while Poole 439
states that a large portion of the 14,000 head captured were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners.[113]

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[110] 223, fo. 368.

[111] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.

[112] 230, p. 69 has 24,000, while *Report on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19, has 15,000-20,000.

[113] Read, 'Tradition', p. 478; Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16.

231 According to Manning, in his first report on the matter dated
727 17 February 1898, nearly 12,000 head were captured. It seems
648 clear that at the time Manning thought that the whole of this herd
439 would be used for the benefit of the B.S.A. Company, for he wrote:

> 'I have informed the British South Africa Company that we shall require them to pay the actual expenses incurred by us on account of the campaign. I do not imagine the total cost to the British South Africa Company will be more than 2,000*l*. This will be covered ten times over by the value of the cattle captured by the expedition, so that the British South Africa Company will reap a handsome profit on the campaign.'[114]

There seems, however, to have been considerable discussion among Europeans in the region about the disposal of the cattle. Roberts, a surgeon who had been one of Wiese's companions at Fort Young, was dismissed from the North Charterland shortly after the war ended. Wiese also left the country after the war and lost his North Charterland post worth £900 a year. Manning suggests that these two were anxious to make trouble by attacking the conduct of the war. St. Hill, the North Charterland manager, may have been anxious to forestall any accusations for on 23 April he published in a newspaper a statement admitting that there had been criticism on the capture of the cattle, but pointing out that 'Army regulations provide for a certain amount of loot'. He said that it had been a wonderfully cheap expedition, that the Protectorate men who went in certainly deserved something, and that he expected that the B.S.A. Company would return a very large number of cattle to the Natives.[115] Editorial comment on his article was nevertheless critical. Criticism began to be heard in Britain. A letter was written to the Parliamentary Secretary responsible, a question was asked in the Commons, and an article appeared in *Truth*. According to one account, the military officers said they expected £400 or £500 each from their share of the loot.[116] Whether or not he was influenced by this criticism, Sharpe on leave in England proposed on 12 May that half the captured herds be returned to the Ngoni, the other half to be retained by the B.S.A. Company.[117] On the same day the Foreign Office replied to Manning's dispatch of 17 February, quoted above, with the statement that the B.S.A. Company wanted only three hundred beasts. Manning was asked to

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[114] 195.

[115] *Central African Times*, i, 30 (23 April 1898), p. 3.

[116] 216, fo. 8; 217; *Parliamentary Debates*, 4th series, lv (1898), cols. 1240, 1654-5; *Truth*, xliii, 1122 (30 June 1898), pp. 1639-40.

[117] 202.

consider returning some of the remainder to the Ngoni.[118] Manning 251
replied that representatives of the B.S.A. Company had already 727
made arrangements for driving away five thousand cattle. He 648
proposed to return three thousand to Mpezeni.[119] 439

The subsequent course of events is not clear. Poole states that due to the opportune arrival and intervention of Selby, a member of the B.S.A. Company's Administration, a large proportion of the cattle were ultimately restored to their Ngoni owners. This is in accord with Sharpe's statement on 6 July that 'Mpezeni . . . has had all his cattle returned to him [his underlining]'. A missionary journal published in Blantyre on 15 July stated that probably a considerable part of the cattle had been returned.[120] Manning, who was in a better position to know than Sharpe, who was still on leave, wrote on 31 August that all the cattle had been returned to the Natives with the exception of about a thousand head handed over to the B.S.A. Company as a fine and about two hundred kept for the use of the troops.[121] The matter then seemed to have been settled.

In the next year the North Charterland continued its quarrel with the B.S.A. Company, and the disposal of the captured cattle was discussed again. The North Charterland complained that the whole Ngoni war had been unnecessary and had been provoked by the B.S.A. Company. There had been wholesale looting of cattle which had been disposed of in the interests of the officers concerned, Natives had been expelled from their lands, and in consequence the commercial prospects of the North Charterland had been ruined. The Foreign Office replied to these allegations on 23 August 1899, stating that so far as the cattle were concerned, five thousand head were to be driven out, three thousand returned to Mpezeni, and the balance held at the disposal of the B.S.A. Company, apart from two hundred and fifty head captured inside the Protectorate and driven off for use by the troops. This reply, referring to what would be done rather than what by then presumably had been done, appears to have been based on the arrangements proposed by Manning on 20 May 1898. Either the arrangements he reported on 31 August 1898 were never put into operation or else they were overlooked by mistake when the Foreign Office reply to the North Charterland was drafted a year later. The latter explanation seems more probable.[122]

[118] 203.

[119] 207.

[120] Poole, *Native tribes*, p. 16; 211, fo. 228; *Life and Work in British Central Africa*, 125 (15 July 1898), p. 3.

[121] 219, fo. 456.

[122] 230; 233.

231 Manning stipulated that cattle handed back to the Ngoni
439 should not be sold, to prevent traders bartering cattle for gun-
648 powder.[123] Nevertheless the majority of the cattle remaining in or
727 returned to Ngoni hands were sold within two years. In April 1898
over 14,000 head of cattle were counted.[124] Whether or not all these were in Ngoni ownership at the time is not clear, although the North Charterland implied in a letter written in 1899 that at least 12,000 belonged to Ngoni.[125] During the next year or so, in spite of Administrative opposition, many thousands of cattle were sold to traders or killed. By 31 March 1900 only 1,224 remained.[126]
[177] Thus another of the systems of social relationships, those mediated
through cattle, which had sustained the old social order, was undermined.

8. *The end of a system*

178 Thus ended the Ngoni war and with it the Ngoni State. In the
last twelve years of its existence, from 1886 to 1898, three struggles
649 were proceeding simultaneously in linked regions of social space.
First there were the traditional processes already described by which Ngoni killed and recruited their neighbours and by which cleavages between segments of their residential system widened and altered with time. Second there was the struggle between Portugal, Great Britain and, peripherally, Germany for the political control of south-central Africa. Third there was a struggle between
[439] different groups of financiers in London for the control of the rich
economic resources which they believed, quite mistakenly as far as we can now tell, lay waiting to be discovered in Mpezeni's country and round about. Apart from these three major fields of activity, there were two others which affected this particular area to a lesser degree. There were the traders and adventurers like Wiese (until 1896), Matakenya and the Arabs who competed with one another and endeavoured to exploit the region in terms of ivory, gunpowder and slaves. There were also the various missions,
[797] representing the interests of their co-religionists and anti-slavery
enthusiasts in Europe, competing with each other and with the slave traders for local control. There was even a scheme for colonizing Mpezeni's country with Christian laymen from Britain.[127] All these social fields were interwoven in reality, but in analysis

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[123] 207; 208, fo. 15; 233.

[124] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.

[125] 230, p. 69. Duff, *Nyasaland*, p. 393, implies that all the 14,000 belonged to Ngoni.

[126] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 65.

[127] 87.

our task is to separate them out. Yet even in analysis we have to 178
show how each field interlocks with the other two, how events in 648
one field set up movements in others.

The material apparatus used in the various fields was distinct. The traditional processes were decided ultimately by resort to spears and shields. Portugal and Britain fought with artillery, embargoes, customs dues and treaties. The North Charterland 439
fought its rivals with concessions, certificates of claim and share 648
capital.[128] Mpezeni, who knew how to fight with spears, was asked to sign pieces of paper which would then be negotiable in a property system of which he knew nothing, and the manipulators of which knew little of him. The treaty-collectors imagined a patchwork of stationary chiefdoms spread over the region, each with a chief powerful enough to sell his country, whereas in fact there was only an unstable series of groups of shifting cultivators, each liable to attack from the migrating Ngoni.

Yet despite the differences in technique and despite the lack of knowledge of each other's systems of government, the various groups involved continued to pursue their own ends as best they could. Mpezeni may not have known what a flag was, yet the issue between Portugal and Britain was decided, and decided in Lisbon rather than in Ngoniland. The treaties may have been made beyond the competence, and the understanding, of the chiefs who signed them, and yet the B.S.A. Company did gain control of the country. Mpezeni never made his mark on a document, yet the North Charterland acquired its ten thousand square miles of land. On the other hand, the Ngoni regiments tried to win another battle [721]
like the others they had won before, and this time they failed. In
consequence of the war of 1898 there was a revolution, a change of [669]
structural form, in Ngoni society, whereas in the histories of Portugal and Britain, and even of the B.S.A. Company, the event passed almost unnoticed.

In northern Nyasaland an analogous process of incorporation within a wider system was taking place. Here also there was an intruding European group and the same distant interest of the Nyasaland Administration. Yet in many ways the chain of events in northern Nyasaland was simpler than at Fort Jameson. In the [797]
north, there was only one set of resident Whites, the Livingstonia missionaries, there was no Wiese willing to play for both sides at once, and there was no North Charterland. In consequence the

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[128] cf. Kuper, *African Aristocracy*, p. 24: 'Swazi were subjugated through concessions, a type of economic warfare eventually sanctioned by powerful European governments.'

439 648 relationship between Ngoni and Europeans was of a somewhat different kind, and one of its most interesting features was an attempt by the Ngoni, persisted in for many years, to establish a monopoly over the missionaries, at the expense of another tribe with whom they were at war.[129] In Fort Jameson the social field was more complex. One of Mpezeni's sons tried to sell ivory to Wiese illegally without his father's knowledge,[130] and we may look on this as an attempt to establish a relationship with him differentiated from the wider relationship between Wiese and the Ngoni as a whole, or perhaps as an attempt on Wiese's part to penetrate Ngoni society along its lines of structural cleavage. His and Deare's support for a candidate for the heirship was similar in intention. [661] Mpezeni's efforts to gain support from Kotakota against his people was a more noticeable attempt to utilize the power of the Whites in his own sectional interest. Similarly the readiness with which raided chiefs made treaties was certainly related to their weak position in relation to the Ngoni and their hope of support against them. Even with the traders, as distinct from the treaty-collectors, this consideration was relevant. Deare relates how he asked Mpezeni to prevent raiding near the North Charterland supply route which passed through Undi's country. When later he visited Undi, he was welcomed for stopping the raids and was given ivory. Thus although at Fort Jameson no one group had a monopoly of access to the Europeans, there were these attempts to establish specific relations with them to the advantage of the different groups concerned.

For as soon as two groups are brought into contact, and for [178] some reason neither group annihilates the other, there is a change in the structure of the social field in which they act. Life can no longer go on as before, for every man has new potential allies and new potential enemies. There is no established order to which appeal can be made, for a new order has to be created. A new set of alignments, a new social structure, emerges from the manoeuvring and intriguing of the transition period which must differ from the old because of the new interests and new relationships which it contains.

Thus Europeans discriminated between one African group and another. Similarly the Ngoni established different relations with different European groups. From the beginning it was clear that the Portuguese and the British were to be distinguished, and Mpezeni preferred the inaction of the former to the efficiency of

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[129] cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 97, 129, 237 and 245.

[130] Wiese, 'Expedição', x, pp. 491-2.

the latter. This alignment established, it was natural that Warton, 439
though not himself a party to the Imperial struggle, should utilize 648
it by arriving in the country from Tete, in Portuguese territory, rather than from Nyasaland, that he should pose as Wiese's brother, and, assuming that the Foreign Office was correctly informed, that he should fly a Portuguese flag. Genthe played a similar game with his Union Jack, but in a different area among the raided tribes. Even among the British, Mpezeni had three groups to deal with, North Charterland, B.S.A. Company, and the Nyasaland Administration. He was initially friendly and later hostile towards the first, unyielding to the second, and appealed for help to the third, although, or perhaps because, it was farthest away.

The effective cleavage within the Ngoni chiefdom was between 439
the chief and his eldest son. We might have expected the major 578
cleavage to have been between one son and another, particularly 648
in view of North Charterland support for one son rather than 668
another. We have some information concerning who Wiese and Deare thought were their friends, but some of these people appear to have taken a prominent part in the fighting. Mpezeni was certainly not entirely deserted by his own people, for he was able to send emissaries to Kotakota and to warn Wiese and Deare of plots against their lives.[131] The situation in which one section of the population supported the chief and the remainder supported his son may have been facilitated by the existence of what we have called rump segments in the residential system. For in this system the dependants of a segment head were not completely divided up among his heirs; there was a remainder who even after the death of the head constituted a rump segment and represented his interests as against those of his sons. Thus it may be that Mpezeni was supported by those who remained in his great wife's village, or perhaps in his father's great wife's village, as against those who had broken out from it. In the absence of satisfactory evidence, our hypothesis remains unverified. Such evidence as there is, is contradictory. Deare made friends, eventually, with the two senior lieutenants of segment 10, the segment of Mpezeni's great wife; this would support our thesis, as does Wiese's mention of the senior of these as one of his friends. Yet both of them, according to my informants, descendants of these men, were shot in the course of the campaign; this points against our thesis. In the list of friends and enemies which Wiese and his companions gave Brake, segments 4 and 10 each have members in both lists. Among those listed as friends are Ciboma msitini, regional governor in segment 4 and

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[131] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 186; 187, fo. 137; Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May.

439 Mcekwani mpanza (Chequani), a lieutenant of segment 10.
578 Among the enemies are Ngoka Lukhezo zulu (Goka), a lieutenant
648 of segment 4, and Kamzembe maiemesa (Camsembe), regional
668 governor in segment 10.[132] The elucidation of this cleavage is
further complicated by the fact that from 1889 until 1898 Mpezeni lived at least most of the time not with his great wife but with his favourite, the leader of the subsidiary bevy in segment 15.[133] He may have done this to place himself at a distance from Wiese, who had a store at the headquarters of segment 4, Mpezeni's father's great wife's village, and from the North Charterland, whose Fort Young was just outside the headquarters of segment 10, his own great wife's village. There is, however, no definite evidence for this.

Regarding the Europeans for the moment as external agents, we can see how inter-African relations were affected by them. Within the chiefdom the most striking phenomenon was the prohibition on raiding imposed by the Whites. It was this which appears to have accentuated the cleavage between Mpezeni and his sons and which may have given Nsingu an external object of attack formidable enough to unite him with his brothers. The Ngoni State was essentially a military one and each successive generation of leaders needed to glorify themselves in battle. Mpezeni at the end of his life, his battles over, could well favour
[721] peace but his sons had still to demonstrate their valour and swell
their segments with captives. The prohibition on raiding struck at
[178] at the root of the State, socially as well as economically. External
relations changed their content, and neighbouring chiefs were able to visit Ngoniland unmolested. A more significant change of relation was attempted when Chabisa tried to unite the Fort Jameson and northern Nyasaland groups of Ngoni against the Europeans. Chabisa failed, but even so Ngoni re-established contact with the Ndebele after a lapse of some sixty-five years as the direct result of European action.

In all this the Arabs played only a minor part. Some Arabs
439 traded with Mpezeni for slaves, and Ngoni used sometimes to raid
648 Arab caravans. This we know from Deare, who saw an Arab with
567 Mpezeni and to whom Nsingu related the story of a successful
attack on a caravan. Deare mentions that this Arab tried to influence Mpezeni against him.[134] Apart from this, there is little information on their dealings with this group of Ngoni. The main struggle between Administration and Arabs was fought out at

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[132] 187, fo. 137. cf. Winterbottom, 'Histories', p. 20.

[133] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 79.

[134] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 27 April and 4 May.

Karonga in 1895 and although slave trading went on through 439
Portuguese territory even after 1900, Arabs never made any effort 648
to maintain this trade in the Fort Jameson area. [567]

When Wiese left the country in 1898 his work was done. His departure symbolized the end of the pioneering stage of colonialism and the beginning of the stage of settled paternal administration. Mpezeni was reinstated after the war, but there was no position into which Wiese could have been reinstated, nor anyone who wanted to reinstate him. Unlike Mpezeni, Wiese did not represent the long-term interests of any powerful group. In the history of empires there are many examples of men like Wiese who succeeded in weathering the transition from one phase to another and ended their lives in honour and glory. But Wiese had sold his assets before the war began. When it was over, his one saleable attribute, his friendship with Mpezeni, had been compromised and was no longer of value. He departed from a scene which had no place for him.

An examination of how the Imperial and the financial struggles 439
were inter-connected would take us beyond the bounds of Ngoni-
land and of our subject. We have, however, shown that the three 464
social fields were inter-connected, and that moves in one field were 648
affected by and in turn inspired moves in another. It is important to realize that this inter-connection was not due merely to geographical accident. From one point of view it was accidental that Ngoniland should lie near so many frontiers and that there should be an ancient gold-mine in the vicinity. But Britain, the North Charterland, and Nsingu were all struggling partly for the same thing, control of the Ngoni people. Even Warton understood this. At the end of 1896 he was asked: 'The Natives, I understand, are friendly?' He replied: 'I am glad to say that, so far, we have succeeded in establishing most friendly relations with M'Pesene. . . . Fighting would not only be costly, but we should lose our labourers if we engaged in hostilities. So you see on selfish, as well as humanitarian grounds, we have every reason to avoid warfare and bloodshed.'[128] The mineral resources of Mpezeni's country may have been largely illusory but the human resources were real. Ngoni men could fight for slaves, for dependants, for cattle and for glory; they could carry loads from Tete and prepare to work in the North Charterland's mines; or they could migrate to Southern Rhodesia to work there: but they could not do all these things simultaneously. The fight to destroy the Ngoni army was as much one to secure a labour supply for European capital investment as it was to secure

[128] *African Review*, x, 216 (9 January 1897), p. 67.

439 464 648 law and order. In this, not only the Ngoni were concerned. There was a shortage of labour in Nyasaland and Mpezeni's raids prevented labourers reaching that country from the interior. The campaign against Mwase in 1895 was undertaken partly with the aim of opening up labour routes and Mpezeni's defeat carried this a stage further. The Collector at Kotakota wrote shortly after the war: 'It is quite safe to say that no greater assistance has been given to these districts (and in fact to the Protectorate) than this opening up of the Luapula Valley by the conquest of Mpezeni.'[136] Yet the Luapula is 350 miles from Fort Jameson. Even Ngoni technical skill in fighting was of value to the new conquerors, for within six [167] months of the war Ngoni fighting men were in Southern Rhodesia, not as allies of the Ndebele but as part of the British South Africa Police. Within ten months, the headquarters of segment 13 had been moved to make way for the new Administrative capital. With the defeat of Mpezeni, North-Eastern Rhodesia became a country.

178 361 648 A final point requires explication. Granted that the Ngoni social system had to change in this new complex social environment, and granted also that their activities, in particular raiding, had to be adapted to new demands on their labour, why did not the Ngoni continue to live in large villages as they had done hitherto? There are numerous analogies in Africa where segmentary social systems have been fitted into an Administrative framework, and where raiding has given way to migrant labour, and yet the pattern of settlement has remained the same. Why did the big Ngoni villages disappear after 1898?

Part of the answer to this question can be stated in ecological terms. In pre-conquest times, the dense population, human and bovine, the great stretches of cultivated land, and the manifest prosperity of the people impressed themselves vividly on contemporary observers accustomed to the scattered settlements of the surrounding tribes. Angus writes:

> 'Before us lay an undulating valley some miles in breadth, which, as the heavily timbered hills on either side proclaimed, had once been covered with forest, but was now denuded of every vestige of a tree. Village after village surrounded by waving cornfields, and green plains dotted with herds of cattle, stretched away into the distance. Never before in any of my African wanderings had I seen such an extent of land under cultivation; the cornfields seemed unending, and the size and number of the

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[136] *B.C.A.G.*, v, 6 (30 April 1898), p. 4.

villages fairly astonished me; and it was not till then that I 178
realized what a powerful and prosperous people were those whose 361
acquaintance I was about to make.'[137] 648

We may compare this description of conditions in 1896 with that given by Trapnell for the same area in 1938.

> '. . . Reserve II presents an example of combined cutting-out, soil-deterioration and erosion which probably has no equal [34] in the Territory. . . . Cattle are most numerous in this reserve, and . . . their added burden on the land has doubtless helped to [311] weigh the scales to the point of erosion. With cattle and an [231] excessive population in Mpezeni's and Maguya's country, surface compaction and deterioration of soil have come to give place to wholesale wash, and denuded belts of resting land are now to be seen seared by dongas fully ten feet deep. The enormous gullied scars down the face of Nyamfinsi and neighbouring hills provide notable examples of the effects of millet cultivation on impossible slopes.'[138]

The devastation described by Trapnell has come about in part on account of the alienation of land to Whites, but it is also due to the transition which the Ngoni have been forced to make from living as [241] migrant brigands to working as subsistence cultivators and migrant labourers. Even without alienation, it is likely that the large [177] villages would have disappeared.

161 The population of the tribe immediately prior to the conquest was estimated by Deare to be 40,000 and possibly more. Johnston, in his highly ambitious population density map, appears to have assumed a population of about 50,000, while an official estimate in 1898 was nearly 150,000.[139] The area of Mpezeni's country was estimated by Angus to be about 400 square miles. [131] He also delimits an area of about 2,700 square miles which he describes as 'Angoniland proper', but it is clear that this large area includes much waterless uninhabited country. Johnston implies, on his map, an inhabited area of 3,200 square miles, but again there is clear evidence [311] that in fact much of this was uninhabited. In 1903 it was estimated that the area within which the Ngoni kept their cattle before the conquest was about 600 square miles.[140] Angus's lower estimate is in accord with the distances between villages given by travellers

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[137] Angus, 'Northern Angoniland', p. 78.

[138] Trapnell, *Ecological Survey*, pp. 67, 71.

[139] Deare, 'Slave raiders', 11 May; *A & P*, 1894, lvii, p. 769; *B.C.A.G.*, v, 3 (26 February 1898), p. 1.

[140] Angus, 'Northern Angoliland', pp. 74, 78; *B.C.A.G.*, iii, 11 (1 June 1896), p. 1; *Reports on the Administration*, 1903, p. 19.

Chapter Four

TRANSITION

1. Administrative policy 2. White control 3. Chiefs 4. County segments 5. Relative status of chiefs 6. Counties as territorial units 7. Villages

1. *Administrative policy*

THE DEFEAT of the Fort Jameson Ngoni in 1898 was followed by 177
the establishment of an Administration under the British South 439
Africa Company. The greater part of the Nyasaland troops who
had done the fighting left the area in April 1898[1] but the North 648
Charterland party remained at their old headquarters at Fort
Young, the B.S.A. Company made a base at Fort Patrick a few
miles away, and in Nyasaland the Protectorate Administration
maintained a station at Fort Manning. The new township of Fort
Jameson was established in October 1898[2] and the first mission [797]
station was opened by the Dutch Reformed Church Mission at
Magwero in 1899, in response to a request for a mission made the
previous year by Mpezeni.[3] From these bases, White administrators,
traders and missionaries, aided by their Black assistants, began to
alter the form of Ngoni life. We are here particularly concerned
with political organization, and it was the Administration which was
particularly influential in determining what form the new Ngoni
political organization would take. But political systems do not
exist in isolation, and the kinds of political relationship which we
find existing to-day have been influenced by the changing economic,
commercial and religious relationships which have been determined
more specifically by traders, labour recruiters, planters and
missionaries as well as by the exertions of administrators.

The Administration of North-Eastern Rhodesia was in the 439
hands of the B.S.A. Company, and the policy adopted was to some
extent influenced by developments in other territories administered 648
by the Company. Southern Rhodesia was much more
accessible from the sea than North-Eastern Rhodesia, more capital
had been invested in it, and its mineral wealth appeared to be
considerably greater. North-Eastern Rhodesia was therefore [464]

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[1] 210, fo. 67.

[2] *Reports on the Administration*, 1898-1900, p. 71.

[3] Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 22.

439 regarded as a territory which would supply Native labour and,
648 possibly, cattle to the south. Little attempt was made to develop
[464] the resources of the territory itself, and indeed in so far as Mpezeni's
country was concerned, the B.S.A. Company had ceded its rights
to do so to the North Charterland. The general pattern of White-
Black participation in economic activity was taken over from South
Africa, whence many of the early settlers came, and there was no
attempt to train a Black *élite* to perform skilled tasks. Apart from
the Ngoni and the Bemba, the Black population of North-Eastern
Rhodesia had been taken under the administration of the B.S.A.
Company without serious fighting and their chiefs did not have the
opportunity to become leaders of opposition against the Whites.
The Administration wished to keep its expenses low and found that
[643] the cheapest way of running the country was through the
indigenous chiefs and headmen. Hence a system of administration
[622] grew up which was in many respects similar to that later known as
Indirect Rule.[4] Chiefs and village headmen were placed under a
statutory obligation to preserve law and order among their people.
Some of them were paid a few shillings a year for their labours and
were given ceremonial spears of office. There were no formally
constituted Native courts, as there are now, but minor cases of all
[692] kinds were heard by indigenous tribunals, and the authority of
these tribunals appears to have been upheld by the Administration
in so far as their judgments were regarded as maintaining law and
order. Indeed on occasion the Administration indicated to chiefs
what kinds of cases they should deal with and what should be
referred to the Administration. The collection of tax, one of the
[651] most important activities of the early administrators, was carried
out with the assistance, or the enforced co-operation, of the Black
[464] leaders. Labour recruiters appear to have operated in much the
same kind of way. Thus the commoner in his village found that to
a considerable extent access for him to these new White agencies
was along the traditional chain of authority through headman and
chief. The missions were to a greater extent concerned with
[797] establishing relationships with individuals without reference to
their position in indigenous society, but even they tried occasionally
to work through chiefs and other notables. Thus despite the
changed situation, the indigenous order was utilized by the White
invaders and in so far as that order was useful to them they
endeavoured to uphold it.

177 Nevertheless, the encouragement given by the Administration
464 to recruiters of labour from the south, and the economic necessity
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[4] cf. Hailey, *African Survey*, pp. 452-3.

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of earning money to pay tax, together with such subsidiary measures 177 as the prohibition of Native smelting, and the pressure on men to 439 clothe themselves in imported clothing, ensured that the old order 464 changed beyond the mere loss of sovereignty. 648 Not only were links established with Southern Rhodesia and later with other parts of Africa, but new patterns of distribution of wealth and power were set up which were incompatible with the old order. The chief who stayed at home ruling his people found himself outclassed by the [556] newly returned labourers from the south, with their display of clothes, money and urban mannerisms. The relationships between one tribe and another which formerly had found expression in fighting had now to find other expressions, and began to be based on different interests.

These general considerations applied throughout North- 439 Eastern Rhodesia. In Ngoniland local variation was supplied more by the presence of the North Charterland than by the fact that the 648 Ngoni had been defeated in war. The North Charterland was interested in the economic development of its concession, whereas the Administration had to consider the needs of other territories governed by the B.S.A. Company, particularly Southern Rhodesia. The same administrative policy was applied to the Ngoni as to neighbouring tribes which had not been conquered by force of arms. Nevertheless in Ngoni eyes the Administration discriminated [186] against Ngoni in favour of Cewa. Many Cewa who had been captured shortly before 1898 moved away from Ngoniland after the war, or at least moved in the direction of their homeland. With the end of Ngoni raiding the no-man's-land round Ngoni country filled up again with Cewa who had been displaced when the Ngoni first arrived in the 1870s. Cewa chiefdoms were re-established and recognized by the Administration, to the chagrin of the Ngoni.

Even the Ngoni themselves were referred to by the Administra- 648 tion as the 'Angoni-Chewa' by way of emphasizing their mixed ethnic composition. When the Native Reserve scheme was put forward in 1913 the Ngoni chiefs objected to the Cewa being allotted land of their own, and suggested that all the tribes of the district should be placed in one reserve under Mpezeni II. The Administration did not agree. When villages were moved into the proposed [167] reserves in the 1920s, a few more villages left Ngoniland for Cewa country. At the same time other villages moved into Ngoniland from other chiefdoms in the face of alienation of land or difficulties with the Portuguese Administration. Thus to-day many villages in Ngoniland are of Cewa origin and many villages in Cewa chiefdoms are of Ngoni origin.

648 Ngoni origin. The sharp cleavage between the Ngoni and their neighbours has gone.

Another relic of the privileged position enjoyed by the Ngoni 439 before the conquest which did not long survive their defeat was 648 the subsidy paid to Mpezeni. Under the terms of Wiese's alleged 651 concession of 14 April 1891, Mpezeni was to be paid £200 a year and one per cent of Wiese's profits. Wiese made presents to Mpezeni, but there is no record of any substantial payment. When the provisional grant of 10,000 square miles of land was made by the B.S.A. Company to the Mozambique Company on 8 May 1895, the latter agreed not to exercise any rights it might have under Wiese's concessions, but there was no mention of the disposal of any possible obligations. Warton continued Wiese's practice of giving presents to Mpezeni, but there was no regular payment. As Wiese's concession had never been recognized it would seem that there was no legal obligation on either the North Charterland or the B.S.A. Company to pay an annual subsidy. Nevertheless after the Ngoni war the two companies must have come to some agreement on the matter. In April 1898, according to the answer to a question in the Commons, the B.S.A. Company were ready to pay Mpezeni £200 a year 'for the present'. In January 1900 the Administrator stated that the Collector at Fort Jameson had spent only £50 during the current financial year on payments to Mpezeni and 'his loyal indunas'. He proposed to spend a further £50 during the year and the remaining £100 of the subsidy was to be distributed among the surrounding tribes in the interests of the North Charterland.[5] These special arrangements were presumably superseded in 1903 when, under the scheme of Native Administration drawn up in that year, provision was made for the payment of all recognized chiefs from the general funds of the Territory.

Similarly, the military organization of the Ngoni broke down 648 after the conquest. One of the first acts of the Administration was 701 to forbid Ngoni to carry weapons of war.[6] Four new age-set 561 regiments were formed between 1898 and 1914 but they were little more than dancing societies, singing the old songs which had excited their seniors in the 'time of peace' before the conquest but unable to emulate their military achievements. During the 1914-18 war the majority of young Ngoni men who might have formed a [464] new age-set were enrolled as carriers and soldiers on the Allied side.

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[5] *Parliamentary Debates, 4th Series*, lv (1898), cols. 1654-5; report of a meeting between Administrator and North Charterland manager, 15 January 1900 (Lusaka archives); cf. Poole, MS., 'Tribes of East Luangwa Province'.

[6] Wiese, 'Geschichte', p. 201.

After the war an age-set was formed but its activities conflicted 561
with the demands of the churches and schools and it was not a 701
success. No further attempts have been made to carry on the 648
system. Ngoni now say, 'What need have we of regiments now that
there are no other tribes for us to fight?'

2. *White control*

Apart from the squabble over cattle, the surrender of Mpezeni 648
on 9 February 1898 marked the end of the Ngoni war. The Nyasa- 727
land troops did not pursue the leaders who fled, although Brake
moved Mpezeni to the vicinity of Fort Manning. In May he
wrote, perhaps over-optimistically, that in the central part of
Ngoniland rebuilding had begun.[7]

It is clear that at first the Ngoni acquiesced in their defeat. 648
Whereas prior to the war Whites had lived in their country on
sufferance, now their right to be there was not challenged. Only a [464]
few months after the war Harding arrived, recruiting police for
service in Southern Rhodesia. He was received in a 'most friendly
manner by the chief in charge who gave an ocular demonstration
of his loyalty by voluntarily and immediately handing over to my
charge 200 of his young men for my newly formed Police Force...'.[8]
After the death of Mpezeni I, his lieutenants waited the traditional 643
period of a year. Mpezeni's heir Nsingu and his wife Mkucwa had 648
both been shot during the war, and in September 1901 the lieu-
tenants petitioned the Administration to appoint their eldest son,
Ciloa, aged about 10 years, as chief. On 23 July 1903 the Native
Commissioner held a meeting at which Madzimawi, son of Mpezeni
I in the residue of segment 4, asked to be allowed to take the name
Zwangendaba.[9] Thus even at that early date the over-riding
authority of the Administration was acknowledged in matters
concerning the chieftainship.

The establishment of an Administration based on Fort Jameson 648
in 1898 was governed, in so far as the British legal system was con-
cerned, by the legislation consolidated in the Foreign Jurisdiction
Act 1890.[10] Relations between the Administration and its African
subjects were controlled by the Africa Order in Council 1889.[11]
This was superseded by later Orders in 1900, 1911 and 1924,[12]
marking the delimitation of North-Eastern Rhodesia as a separate

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[7] 198; 202, fo. 69.
[8] Harding, *Far Bugles*, p. 82.
[9] *Reports on the Administration*, 1900-2, p. 408; see pp. 139of.
[10] 53 & 54 Vict., c. 37.
[11] *S.R. & O.*, Rev., 1890, iii, pp. 259-332.
[12] *S.R. & O.*, 89 of 1900, 438 of 1911 and 324 of 1924.

648 territory, its amalgamation with North-Western Rhodesia, and the transfer of responsibility from the British South Africa Company to the Colonial Office. Statutory instruments issued under these and later Orders have provided legal backing for successive schemes of African Administration.

In 1900 the Fort Jameson Division, containing the country occupied by the Ngoni, Kunda and part of the Cewa tribes, was established as part of the East Luangwa District, stretching from the Nyasaland border to the River Luangwa. The names of these areas were later changed to Fort Jameson District and Eastern Province respectively, and there have been numerous changes in their boundaries during the last fifty years, though none of them have affected the Ngoni. To avoid confusion, we shall use the term District only in its modern usage. In charge of the African population of the District was a Native Commissioner responsible to a Magistrate, posts corresponding roughly to the modern District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner. The Native Commissioner, with his assistants who were Whites, had a force of Native [202] messengers (otherwise known as boma messengers) attached to his office to convey instructions to the people of the District and to report irregularities to him. The Administrator, head of the Administration, appointed chiefs in charge of tribal districts [622] (smaller than the Administrative Districts already mentioned), and under them were district headmen appointed by the Secretary for Native Affairs. There were also district messengers who lived in [624] their villages, but assisted the Native Commissioner when he toured in their vicinity.

This scheme was regularized by the issue of the Native Commissioners' Regulations of 12 December 1908, made under King's Regulations of the same date. Minor amendments were introduced in 1913 and 1915, and a consolidating Proclamation was issued in 1916. This again was amended slightly in 1919.[13] The substance of the scheme was not altered until the enactment in 1929 of the Native Authorities Ordinance. A more comprehensive Ordinance, with provision for Native Treasuries, replaced this in 1936.[14]

The initiative in setting up, maintaining and modifying the system of administration lay with the Whites, not with the Ngoni, who indeed were only one tribe among many to whom the system applied. Yet the Administration endeavoured to enlist the support of chiefs and others who for the most part were persons of high status in their tribes. As early as 1905, the Administrator wrote of an effort to induce them to co-operate actively with the government, 648 and by 1910 he was looking forward to reducing the number of White officials in the Administration by devolving much of the Native work on to the Natives themselves. Co-operation was encouraged by the payment of small stipends to chiefs and others, varying in the 1920s in annual value from £22 10*s*. 0*d*. for Mpezeni down to 6*s*. for district messengers.

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[13] Proclamations No. 3 of 1913, 11 of 1915, 8 of 1916, and 6 of 1919.
[14] Ordinances No. 32 of 1929, 9 of 1936.

The Ngoni for the most part neither supported nor opposed this scheme of administration; they merely accepted it. For years the Administration bemoaned the indifference of the Ngoni, but apart from an attempt by a mission to set up its teachers as headmen, [797] there was little attempt to obstruct the work of the Administration.

In matters of land, the authority of the Whites was also dominant, but here the paternal amiability which characterized 423 purely political relations between Administration and Ngoni was 439 lacking. The alienation of land was at the instigation of the North 648 Charterland, who considered themselves the owners of Ngoni 811 country. Fort Jameson was built by the Administration in the middle of Ngoni country and the land round the township, few facilities though the town then had, became more valuable to potential settlers than more fertile but inaccessible tracts. The high density of population in Ngoni country also attracted settlers with [167] the prospect of an adequate labour supply. Thus we find that many of the first tracts of land alienated were located in the middle of Ngoni country, in the most densely populated section. As early as 1 January 1904 the first Commission was appointed to inquire into land questions in Ngoni country.[16] Now that Ngoni had to grow their own food on land which had already been heavily exploited the density of population fell; but in relation to the carrying capacity of the land in perpetuity there was still serious overcrowding. During the unsettled period of the war and its aftermath, the population was dispersed, but from 1900 down to about 361 1930, in consequence of alienation and the formation of reserves, 648 villages were gradually brought closer together. From 1930 onwards, with the recognition of land shortage by the Administration, villages have been allowed to spread out again. The negotiations concerning where the Ngoni should live have been protracted and complicated; I hope to discuss them in a later work in connexion with the economic background of Ngoni social life. What is here significant about them is that to a very large extent these negotiations have been carried on entirely by Whites, with the Administration representing for the greater part Ngoni

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[16] *N.E.R.G.G.*, ii, 1 (1 January 1904), pp. 30-1.

361 interests and those of neighbouring tribes against the North Charter-
648 land and the White settlers. Ngoni themselves have not been in a
position to enforce their own point of view.

In the operation of the legal system White control has never
648 been so complete, as we have indicated above. However the
692 support given to the judgments of chiefs and others by the Adminis-
tration prior to 1929 was political rather than legal, and the courts
held by chiefs with or without the approval of the Administration
did not form part of the same legal system as the Administration's
own courts. In that year Native Courts with defined powers were
established as part of the same legal system as other recognized
courts in the British Empire, with ultimate connexion to the Privy
Council.[16] In matters of religion White dominance has been
achieved more slowly and has never been complete. But even in
[797] this field the religions brought by the Whites have triumphed over
[769] the cult of the chief's ancestors and to-day it is the Christians who
are the ritual experts.

A parallel sequence of events has taken place in Nyasaland,
save that there the amount of land alienated in the Fort Manning
area has been small. A scheme of administration was given a legal
basis in 1912, and was similar to that in Northern Rhodesia. It was
revised in 1924, and in 1933 Native Authorities and Native Courts
were set up.[17] The two principal missions in Fort Jameson District
[797] have stations in Nyasaland as well.

In both countries Ngoni have been required to pay tax. A
651 hut tax was introduced on the Rhodesian side of the border in 1901
648 and at about the same time in Nyasaland. The annual rate has
varied in Fort Jameson District from three to ten shillings. The
imposition of tax has been of importance, not only in partly meeting
the costs of Administration, but also in bringing Ngoni men and
women into the wider economic system of farms, mines and offices
of southern Africa.

Thus the Whites established control over the Ngoni in most
177 of their important external relations. Politics, settlement, litigation,
648 religion and economic activity have all been moulded by the
Whites. In many respects this has been a passive process, for little
that the Ngoni have done or not done has been significant to the
decision to set up Native Courts, or to expand the production of
tobacco, or even to open up a mission of some new denomination.

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[16] By Ordinance No. 33 of 1929. Subsequent legislation is contained in Ordinances No. 10 of 1936, 18 of 1940, and 21 of 1942.

[17] Legislation is to be found in Ordinances No. 13 of 1912, 11 of 1924, 13 of 1933 and 14 of 1933.

These decisions have been taken within frames of reference beyond 177
the reach of our analysis and beyond the reach of Ngoni persuasion. 648
We are here concerned with the way in which Ngoni society has been adapted and has adapted itself to these diverse intrusions from outside.

3. *Chiefs*

In the old residential system there was no definite category of 622
persons whom we regard as chiefs. In the literature the lords of 631
major segments are sometimes called chiefs, sometimes indunas 643
(i.e. lieutenants), but it is clear that the importance of any parti- 648
cular segment varied from one time and situation to another, and
that the only constant relations between positions in the social [621]
structure were vertical ones, between lord and dependant, and not horizontal, between persons at the same level in the hierarchy but in different parts of it. The administrative scheme introduced by the Whites provided for horizontal categorization as well as vertical grouping. There were to be a definite number of chiefs, district headmen, and later village headmen, whose names would appear on the Administration's files. The only indigenous categories of this kind were those of Paramount Chief and regional governor, and for this reason alone it was inevitable that the relationship between the old and new systems should be complex. Although the young Mpezeni II was not the only person to be called chief, his superior status was always recognized and later received formal ratification in the qualification Paramount. The regional governors may, perhaps, have formed a category of persons at the same level in the old hierarchy, but they were not very numerous, perhaps only a dozen in number, and under the new dispensation some managed to become chiefs or district headmen, while others failed to do so. Village headmen in the old system were lords of segments of many different orders of segmentation and of varying importance. If the large pre-conquest villages had continued, then perhaps their heads might have secured Administrative recognition. As it was, post-conquest settlements were all much smaller and there were more of them.

Apart from these formal considerations, the peculiar circum- 648
stances of the war introduced distortion. Some important people 557
were killed in the fighting, others ran away, and the followers of others were scattered. More significantly, the arrival of the Administration, of traders and missions, provided means whereby people whose segments were of minor importance could advance themselves politically and gain control of large sections of the population.

557 This process was facilitated by the actions of some heads of major
648 segments. It had always been correct procedure for one important
person to deal with another through intermediaries, at least in the
[624] opening stages of negotiation, so that lieutenants and others were
frequently sent as ambassadors for their lords to the headquarters
of other major segments. There was particular point in adopting
this procedure in dealing with the Administration since its demands
on a man sent to it were unpredictable and apt to be onerous. Thus
in many instances a lieutenant or other dependant was presented
to the Administration as the headman of an area or a group of
villages. This nominee was regarded by the Administration as the
rightful leader of the area concerned, a belief often fostered by the
nominee himself. In this way effective control of an area passed
from the head of a segment to one of his dependants.

Unfortunately, few records of the early administrative arrange-
648 ments have survived. From 1883, when a British consul was first
114 appointed to Nyasaland, down to the defeat of the Ngoni in 1898,
the doings of the tribe were of political significance to Britain, and
were reported on at length in dispatches which are now public
records. After 1898, events of similar importance within the tribe
to those that had been reported earlier, the death of this lieutenant
or the movement of that village from one site to another, were no
longer of any interest to Whitehall or even to the Directors of the
British South Africa Company. Thus there was a drastic reduction
in the scale of reporting. At the same time the loss of sovereignty, of
independent action, involved a reduction in the kind of events which
were likely to be recorded. The Ngoni no longer made war or sold
slaves. They did pay tax and work in the mines, but this they did
not as an independent tribe but as part of Fort Jameson District
and the Eastern Province, and such records as there are relate to
these administrative units rather than to specific tribes. The B.S.A.
[439] Company lacked the long tradition of administration enjoyed by
the Foreign Office and Colonial Office, and its reports were scanty
by comparison. Thus the only published report of any kind on
affairs in North-Eastern Rhodesia for the year 1905-6 is a mere
fifteen lines long, and there is only one sentence on African adminis-
tration: 'The conduct of the Natives has continued to be satis-
factory.'[18] It is not until 1928 that annual reports on African
affairs began to be published. Our account of Ngoni history from
1898 until recent times therefore cannot be as complete as we
would wish.

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[18] *Directors' Report and Accounts*, 1906, p. 7.

1;Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

According to Coxhead, an Administrative Officer who published in 1914, there were at that time six minor chiefs under the Paramount. Four of these minor chiefs were sons of Mpezeni I.[19] Other Administrative records of the same period refer to ten 'subdivisions'. The Paramount Chief and the chiefs now in charge of counties 4, 14, 15 and 17 are each described as the 'important chief' in their subdivisions. The important chief in another subdivision is now not a county chief. The remaining four subdivisions had two chiefs each. Five of these are now county chiefs, one is a Cewa chief, and the remaining two are no longer chiefs. The title 'chief' was, however, not applied consistently by the Administration at that time and men who are called chiefs in some documents are called divisional or group headmen in others. In 1920, with the appointment of two new divisional headmen all Ngoniland villages in Northern Rhodesia were divided between ten rulers, not all of whom were called chiefs. Mpezeni II was ruler of one group of villages and Paramount over all ten, and the other nine rulers were the predecessors of the present minor chiefs. These ten groups of villages, and the two corresponding groups in Nyasaland, I have called *counties*. With one exception, each successive county chief has taken the name of his predecessor and this name is often used as the name of the county. 648 622 634 643

4. *County segments*

In each county there is one village known as the important village or capital. Many, but not all, of the villages in a county belong to the residential segment of which the capital is the headquarters. Thus we may speak of a county segment which forms, as it were, the core of the county. The villages that do not belong to the county segment fall into three main types. There are villages belonging to other segments under Mpezeni, there are a few which trace their origin to other Ngoni groups, and there are those which have entered Ngoniland after 1898 and so never formed part of the segmentary residential system. Most villages of the last type have come into Ngoniland from Cewa chiefdoms and some of them claim to have been settled in Ngoniland before the arrival of Mpezeni and to have been driven out by him. An indication of the distribution of villages in Northern Rhodesia counties among these different types is given in Table IV, where the only three counties for which I have the information are examined from this point of view. 632 634

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[19] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, p. 22.

632 634 [621] In these three counties there were no instances of two other types of village found rarely in Ngoniland. Occasionally an immigrant labourer working on the Fort Jameson tobacco farms manages to attract sufficient followers from among other labourers and his local affines to found a new village in an Ngoni chiefdom. The other rare type of village is formed by direct administrative [648] action. The Administration has been largely concerned to amalgamate existing villages rather than to create new ones. In at least one instance, however, scattered clusters of huts inhabited by people who had fled from several different villages to avoid coming under agricultural control have been united into a new village under a headman of their own choosing. One example of each of these rare types of village is included in the sample of villages analysed in Table VII (p. 133).

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631
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TABLE IV. ORIGIN OF VILLAGES IN SELECTED COUNTIES, 1948

	Number of villages in county, classified by origin				
County	*County segment*	*Other segment under Mpezeni*	*Other Ngoni groups*	*Other tribes, joining Ngoni after* 1898	*Total*
X	60 (72%)	4 (5%)	1 (1%)	18 (22%)	83 (100%)
Y	26 (55%)	10 (21%)	0 (0%)	11 (23%)	47 (100%)
Z	59 (70%)	16 (19%)	0 (0%)	9 (11%)	84 (100%)
Total	145 (68%)	30 (14%)	1 (0.5%)	38 (18%)	214 (100%)

Number of counties in Northern Rhodesia under Mpezeni 10
Number of villages in Northern Rhodesia under Mpezeni 540 approximately

It will be seen from Table IV that about two-thirds of the villages in each of the selected counties belong to their own county segment. It is to villages in this category that the ties of a county chief are strongest. Here old and new systems are in accord and the chief acts both as traditional lord of the segment as well as head of the Native Authority. Villages in their county segment appear to be more meticulous than others in such matters as discussing proposed 621 changes of site with the county chief and in reporting important 681 deaths to him. 634

The proportion of villages in each county belonging to other segments under Mpezeni varies from 5 per cent to 21 per cent. These are villages which chose, or were forced, to move away from the chief to whom they were attached in segmentary terms, or else [166] villages belonging to major segments whose lords did not become chiefs. Villages in this category have ties that in certain situations, as when there is a serious quarrel, link them more closely with some other county than with their own. In any county where there are many villages of this kind the solidarity of the county as a social group is not great. The ruling chief has many rivals who seek to divide his county and to become chiefs themselves. We must distinguish here between villages in one county which belong to the segment of another and those interloping villages which belong to one county but are situated in the territory of another. We shall discuss interloping villages later (p. 128) in connexion with the territorial aspect of counties.

In Nyasaland the history of administration has been separate 643 from that of Northern Rhodesia, but the Ngoni population there 648 also has divided itself on segmentary lines. For many years the two 634 principal leaders recognized by the Administration have been the heads of segments 5 and 6, and these segments form the cores of the two counties they control. The two county chiefs are now Native Authorities and join with an adjacent Cewa chief to form the Fort Manning Council of Chiefs. This acts as the Native administrative body for the Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District.

The geographical distribution of the twelve counties, the 631 neighbouring chiefdoms of other tribes, and the tracts of alienated 634 land are shown in Map D.

The twelve county segments, ten in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, are, in the nomenclature of Chapter I, segments 4 to 6 and 9 to 17. We shall refer to counties in the same way by the numbers of the segments corresponding to them. Thus county 4 is the county whose segment is number 4, and so on. County 10 is the Paramount Chief's county. Some of the county segments are primal, others are residual segments left after the formation of primal segments of lower order. The definition of the segment associated with each county is indicated in Table V. This table merely restates information implicit in Diagram 1. The hereditary names of county chiefs are also given.

[Text continues on page 121]

between their leaders are influenced by both their relative position 621
in the Native Authority scheme and the position of the county seg- 631
ments, as well as by new interests that have emerged. The formal 634
relationship between the alignments of segments and counties is set out in Diagram 4. This diagram also shows the relationship, at a higher level, between some of the other independent Ngoni groups and the major political divisions of British Africa.

In each county the chief, who does not live in the capital but in a village of his own, is head of the county segment and it seems probable that during the early years of the Administration it was [648]
the affiliation of villages within their old residential segments that provided the basis for the groupings of convenience which eventually crystallized into counties. In one or two instances succession to headship of the segment and county has been plainly manipu- [557]
lated, but the traditional rules of succession have not been outraged. Where the county segment is a residual one, the county chief may be also head of some segment of higher order. Thus the chief of county 11 is head of primal segment 11 although his county is only the residual segment after the formation of segment 16; county chief 14 is head of primal segment 14; and the Paramount Chief is head of primal segments 4 and 10.

← 1

[1] Three Ngoni groups stemming from Zwangendaba are not shown on this 611
diagram. 621

(*a*) A group under Magodi separated itself from either segment 2 or 3 and 631
is now settled in Lundazi District, Northern Rhodesia.

(*b*) A group led by Zulu Gama is now settled in Songea District, Tanganyika Territory. The segment corresponding to this group appears to have been formed within segment 1, but I do not know what relation it bears to the other segments nor by what process it was formed. The western part of this group is still led by a descendant of Zulu Gama, but a descendant of one of his associates named Mboanani now leads the eastern part.

(*c*) A group under Ciwele ndhlovu is settled in Dowa District, Nyasaland. Some writers say it was formed within segment 4, others within the residue of segment 1. He was a lieutenant of either Zwangendaba or Mpezeni.

The two Ngoni groups which do not stem from Zwangendaba cannot be fitted into the diagram. They are located as follows.

(*d*) The Southern Nyasaland Ngoni, who broke away from the Southern Rhodesia Ndebele and who were led originally by Mputa, are now settled in Ncheu and Dedza Districts, Nyasaland, and in Circunscracão of Angónia, District of Tete, Portuguese East Africa.

(*e*) The Ngoni group led by Soshangane are now settled in the lower Limpopo Valley, Gazaland, Portuguese East Africa.

There are a few small Ngoni groups in the Shire Valley, Nyasaland, some of which have their own minor chiefs. There are also many Ngoni men and women in the towns of southern and eastern Africa, but they are not organized into political groups on a tribal basis.

1 [These notes refer to the chart on page 122.—Analyst]

5. *Relative status of Chiefs*

178 631 634 648 There was nothing inherent in the residential system which facilitated the emergence of twelve, and only twelve, counties from Mpezeni's people. Each major segment already had a large number of lesser segments within it in 1898, and it was during the unsettled years that followed the conquest, when new schemes of organization were tried out, when fresh occupants were sought for existing posts, and when the spatial distribution of people was being radically altered, that these twelve gradually emerged. Considerations of size do not seem to have been very important, for there is a wide variation in the size of counties. However, with the development of the Native Authority and Native Court, there is an upper limit to [692] the size of the county which can be served adequately by a single court and possibly by a single minor chief, and this shows itself in the moves towards forming sub-counties within one or two of the larger ones. Yet in view of administrative attempts to do away with certain chiefs, it seems that in its eyes the Ngoni have too many rather than too few chiefs. The order of segmentation is not critical, as we have seen. Nor has there been merely an ossification of the formal structure as it was at the moment of conquest, as is often the case when a fluid society is suddenly put into a rigid mould. Wiese in 1891 wrote that Ngoniland was divided into four districts.[30] In our terms, these were as follows:

(*a*) Primal segment 11.
(*b*) Primal segment 14.
(*c*) Residual segment 10 after 14 was formed.
(*d*) Residual segment 4 after 10 and 11 were formed.

Of these four districts, the first has given rise to two counties, 11 and 16; the second to two, 14 and 17; the third to three, 10, 13 and 15; and the fourth to three, 4, 9 and 12. Wiese does not indicate in what districts he would place segments 5 and 6.

The fortuitous manner in which the counties have emerged is illustrated by the fact that for certain purposes one of the counties is treated as if it were two. At one time, when there were more administrative divisions than there are now, it was divided into two [651] areas, and this arrangement still persists for tax collection. Other counties have only one tax register book each, but this one has two.

In genealogical terms also, the emergence of the twelve chiefs appears to have been fortuitous. For example, the second wife of [643] Mpezeni I in segment 10, after the formation of segments 14 and 15,

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[30] Wiese, 'Expedição', pp. 469-70.

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had one son who died unmarried. The heir of Mpezeni I next after 178
Nsingu was, therefore, the eldest son of the third wife in segment 10. 631
This man's position in segment 10 was, therefore, equivalent to 634
that of the eldest son of the second wife in segment 14, who was the [643]
second heir in that segment. Of these two second heirs, the latter,
in the less important segment, was able to establish himself as the
chief of county 17 whereas the former, in the more important segment, [557]
succeeded merely in becoming a village headman. Similarly,
some lieutenants managed to become chiefs, others of comparable
status did not. Wiese mentions six lieutenants by name. One of
these became a chief, the other five did not. The segments of two
other lieutenants, not mentioned by Wiese, became county segments
and one other lieutenant became chief in the county of his lady's
segment.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that we must look upon this 178
transition from one system to another as no simple procedure by
which indigenous forms of organization are taken over largely 648
unchanged by a colonial administration. The change from an 557
isolated expanding system based on warfare to a large-scale quasi-static
system based on subsistence production and migratory labour
provided opportunities for advancement for those who could adapt
themselves more quickly than their neighbours. In one sense the
really significant change came not in 1898 but in the 1920s, when
the pattern of alignment became fixed. In the intervening period
Ngoni society was still fluid, and an ambitious man had hope of
securing advancement even as he had in the old days before the
conquest, even though that advancement was achieved by different
means and in a different context. It was after the twelve counties
had been fixed, when it became clear that no more chiefs were to [634]
be made, that social mobility declined. With a rapidly changing
external environment it was unlikely that this static condition
would last, and with the growth of the Native Authority bureaucracy
a new opening presented itself. Recently there are indications
that further openings for the ambitious are being provided in the [632]
formation of parishes and in other schemes of rural development.
But there are no new chiefs, even as there are no new plumed
warriors for them to lead in battle or on whose behalf they can [554]
intercede with the tribal ancestors. Leadership in a society of half-peasants,
half-proletarians, is based on other interests.

The salaries of chiefs are determined at an annual budget 465
meeting held by the District Officer and attended by the chiefs and 634
a few other men. The general outline of the tribal budget is
suggested by the Administration, but on items of interest, such as 648

465 personal emoluments, there is usually some discussion. Thus the
634 relative amounts paid to each chief provide us with some indication
648 of the importance attached to him by the Administration and his
colleagues. The salaries paid in 1946 are set out in Table VI together with the number of villages in each county in 1938, the last year for which I have that information.

TABLE VI. SALARIES OF CHIEFS AND VILLAGES IN THEIR COUNTIES

[643]

County segment	*Number of villages in county*, 1938	*Salary of county chief in £s per annum*, 1946
10	87	120 (*a*)
14	101	97½
4	88	82½
11	77	67½
12	42	52½
17	35	37½
13	30	27 (*b*)
15	28	27 (*b*)
9	19	30
16	19	30
Total	526	571½
Mean	52.6	57.15

(*a*) Paramount Chief.
(*b*) Calculated from monthly rate. Both these chieftainships were vacant for part of 1946.

It will be seen that the amount of a minor chief's salary is closely correlated with the number of villages in his county. The chiefs of counties 13 and 15 appear to be underpaid in relation to the number of their villages, and this may be related to efforts which the Administration had been making about that time to eliminate these two chieftainships and to amalgamate their chiefdoms with others. This arrangement also conforms to the alignment of segments. [643] The Paramount Chief is in charge of county 10 but he is also head of primal segment 4 which includes all the others, and it is therefore appropriate that he should be paid most. Chief 14 is paid more than 17, as befits the fact that segment 14 contains 634 segment 17, and similarly 11 is paid more than 16. 648

From another point of view we see that the sizes of the counties, [465] in terms of the number of villages, are in accord with the segmentary alignment, although here we have to remember that we are dealing 634 not with the county segments, residual or primal, but with the 648 counties themselves, each containing villages from many segments. 554 Yet despite this complication, it remains true that the status of a chief, as measured by the number of villages he controls, is in conformity with his position in the segmentary residential system. It may well be that during the early administrative period fortune favoured those leaders whose *de facto* following was in agreement with their position in the old political system. The use of hereditary names emphasizes the connexion of the minor chiefs of to-day [551] with the pre-conquest State and to some extent reflects their traditional alignment. Apart from county 16, where the hereditary name changed when a chief was succeeded by his brother, all the hereditary names refer to the first holders of the chieftainship, though not necessarily to the first leader of the county segment. Thus, for example, segment 5 was founded by Lomapela, brother of Zwangendaba. When the British Administration began, segment 5 was led by Zulu, a son's son of Lomapela. Zulu was recognized as a chief by the Administration, and the name Zulu has been adopted by the two chiefs, his sons, who have succeeded in turn. Similarly, segment 15 was founded for the lady Kukuya Kupili twala, a wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I. Her eldest son, Sayili, was recognized by the Administration as a chief, and this name has been inherited by his son and son's son who have succeeded him as county chief.

We should not infer from the conformity between the position of chiefs in modern and traditional terms that the present system is maintained solely by values surviving from before the conquest. This is plainly not the case. Our point here is that in this particular respect traditional values do not clash with those of the new order.

6. *Counties as territorial units* 178

We have seen that during the period of migration there were no 631 lasting boundaries, and that political allegiance outlasted changes 634 in geographical location. This state of affairs continued for some [167] time after the conquest. The moves that were made were much shorter than in previous times, but the same principle applied. From 1900 to 1930 many villages moved from one site to another as land was alienated to Whites, as the boundaries of proposed

631 634 178 reserves were amended, and as existing gardens were exhausted. Movement of this kind did not greatly affect political allegiance, so that not all the villages acknowledging the control of a minor chief were built in his vicinity. Coxhead mentions seven defined territorial units in 1914, but by the time I began fieldwork in 1946 their boundaries had been forgotten.[21] Most of the villages in any one county were clustered together, with the capital village and the chief's village somewhere in the middle of the cluster, but there were also more distant villages situated among those belonging to other counties. The next stage of development appears to have been the definition of county boundaries, so that by 1946 it was possible to speak of some villages as situated in one county and owing allegiance to another. Most of these interloping villages, as we may call them, belonged to the segment of the county to which they owed allegiance. They were a bone of contention between chiefs, for although each chief desires as many villages as possible [311] under his control, he has only a limited amount of land in his county with which to satisfy his people. An analogous situation is found in some Welsh sheep farms, where each farmer likes to own as many sheep as possible but hopes they will graze on someone else's land. The chief in political control of an interloping village endeavoured to maintain his control at a distance and at the same time to make use of the land in the local chief's county, while the latter had to decide between trying to make the interloping village shift its allegiance so as to increase his own following and trying to get it to move away so as to give his people more land. In 1947 and 1948, [648] to avoid such difficulties between chiefs, the Administration defined county boundaries precisely and insisted that all villages within the area of a county should be under the control of the county chief.

631 634 648 178 Thus, in the development of the county as a social group, ties of segmentary affiliation have been gradually replaced by those of territorial propinquity. This replacement is not yet complete, nor has it arisen merely as a consequence of Administrative action in the last few years. Village histories show that in many instances a village changed from attachment to the head of its major segment to attachment to the local county chief many years ago and without prompting from the Administration. Villagers marry their neigh- [582] bours irrespective of county affiliation and thus build up ties which link them to the local county. It may be inconvenient to walk a long way to the court and county meetings of a distant chief, particularly if the local chief appears to listen more readily to his people's complaints and advice.

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[21] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, pp. 22, 24.

7. *Villages*

Throughout Ngoni history the village has been an easily 621
recognizable residential unit. Many of the pre-conquest villages,
particularly those which were headquarters of major segments,
were large clusters of huts with thousands of inhabitants. Although
there are none of comparable size to-day, the concept of the village
remains. The bulk of the present Ngoni rural population live in
discrete clusters of huts housing between fifty and two hundred
people. These we call villages. Each village is spatially distinct [361]
from the next, and generally is surrounded by garden land and bush.

The post of headman of a single village has never been very 622
important in the scheme of administration. Under the 1903 scheme,
district headmen were appointed in charge of groups of villages. 648
After 1916 this term was dropped in favour of minor chief, sub-
chief or headman of a group of villages. The men referred to by [634]
these names were the people who became county chiefs. Below
them no individuals were appointed as leaders of social groups.
From at least 1904 onwards there were men called district messengers 624
who carried ornamental spears as badges of office and who carried
out the instructions of the Native Commissioner. They had the 202
functions of policemen and messengers, although some of them [625]
were heads of villages in their own right. In 1916, the title of these
men was changed to divisional headmen, and they were described
as being heads of groups of villages. Nevertheless, at least among
the Ngoni, most divisional headmen continued to act merely as
messengers and police, and leadership of groups of villages con-
tinued to rest with the variously styled minor chiefs. After 1929
the work of divisional headmen was taken over partly by the
Native Authority messengers and partly by land messengers, who
are Government (Boma) messengers sent to live rurally from time
to time.

Yet although the office of village headman has not been of 621
Administrative significance, the village has always been an impor- 648
tant social group. We have seen that even in pre-conquest times, 178
when the State as a whole was much more concentrated spatially
than it is now, the fact of common residence was of significance
within the segmentary residential system. The village had a
central cattle byre. Its headman was known by a special term and [622]
once a primal segment had grown to village size the segment name
was not applied to any residual segment within the headquarters
village. The policy of the Administration, combined with a change
in kinship relations among the tribe (a change from the quasi- [601]

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621 agnation of the small segments to what I have termed an omnidirectional system), has increased the importance of the single
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[601] village. After 1898 the Administration endeavoured to bring the people back into villages of moderate size which could be easily supervised by the Administration acting through chiefs.[22] In 1912 a comprehensive scheme of Native reserves was proposed. To facilitate the introduction of the scheme, many small villages were amalgamated with others near by to form units of forty huts or more. The larger groups of composite villages were to form the nuclei of the reserves.[23] After 1930, when villages began to spread out again, many of the enforced amalgamations came to an end. The Administrative rules that every man must live in a recognized village and that a village with less than ten tax-paying men could not be recognized were not always enforced, although they were not repealed until 1945. Administrative recognition has been an important consideration in determining the size of villages but it has not been the only one.

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178 In the residential system, the process of segmentation did not stop with the founding of the segments we now know as county segments. Already in 1898 there were very many more segments in being than the few we have shown in Diagram 1. There we have indicated the position of the major branches of the tree of State but have omitted the hundreds of minor limbs and thousands of twigs which made up the whole. Even if we restrict our attention to segments founded before 1898 we find within any county segment to-day many smaller groups, some of them divisions, others single villages, and a few containing several villages, which are in fact inferior segments formed by one or other of the processes we discussed in Chapter I. Lieutenants and others have made their own segments, junior sons have left their natal villages, and so on. The processes of segment formation since 1898 have not been identical with those prevailing before the conquest, for the quasi-agnatic structure of segments has been modified and segments of recent formation, if in fact we can legitimately call them segments at all, are not organized in the same hierarchical manner as in the old residential system. We shall discuss the formation of small social groups in a later part of our study, the analysis of village life.
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622 Here, at the county level, we have to deal with what is essentially a continuation of a pre-conquest process. Each successive head of a county segment, i.e. each county chief, has formed his own new segment within that of his predecessor. Thus, for instance, where

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[22] *Reports on the Administration*, 1902, p. 2, and 1903, p. 2.
[23] *M.R.A.*, p. 108.

175 and members of the royal lineage. Nevertheless, the care and
631 disposal of these royal cattle is the responsibility of the head of each
621 village where they are kept. If the Paramount Chief visits the
472 village, and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount Chief
221 who is praised as the owner of the beast. The nearer the village
[643] concerned to the Paramount Chief, geographically, in terms of
segments, and in terms of counties, the more the man in charge of
the cattle should refer to the Paramount Chief before killing one of
them, or to report a loss by leopards or hyenas. A few years ago the
son of the first lieutenant in a regal village in the Paramount Chief's
county removed some royal cattle to another tribal area where he
had kinsmen. When this was discovered the matter was discussed
[685] by the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief's county at his
village, and the lieutenant and his son were ordered to be banished.
A new man was made first lieutenant in the regal village. In this
instance, the lieutenant showed plainly that he was not using the
cattle in the interests of the chieftainship. Had his village been
farther away from the Paramount Chief, or had his use of the cattle
been less obviously merely to his own advantage, it is unlikely that
such severe reprisals would have been taken.

These cattle do still provide a visible sign of the connexion
[643] between the headquarters of the various segments and the Para-
mount Chief, and they still provide the first lieutenants of the royal
village with wealth which they can use at their discretion to
further the interests of the chieftainship. The structural relationship
between the Paramount Chief and his subordinates in the old
segmentary system is still partly mediated through cattle.

In the old residential system each segment, however small,
631 contained within itself the seeds of an independent State, for there
621 was no inherent restriction on its growth. When the imposition of
648 British rule modified this system, the effect of the ossification of the
system at the top was to prevent further splits in the State. The
relationship between the major segments which became counties
was defined, or rather was redefined, in perpetuity within the
bounds of a single Superior Native Authority. However, below the
level of these segments no such process of definition took place. A
county, in Administrative terms, consisted of so many villages, not
of a system of nesting segments. The Administration did not per-
petuate these lesser segments by adapting them to its own scheme,
and inter-village and intra-county relations were largely left to
find their own configuration. This has had three distinct results.

628 Firstly, present relations between pairs of villages are still
621 formulated in traditional terms and in part still arise as a result of

Chapter Five

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN A LARGE-SCALE SOCIETY

1. The Administration and the Native Authority 2. Rivals of the Paramount Chief 3. The chief's advisers 4. The chief and his people 5. Royal hunts 6. African bureaucracies 7. Capital, court, and chief's village 8. Politics and the courts 9. Moral and physical sanctions 10. External links 11. Conclusion

1. *The Administration and the Native Authority*

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UNDER THE present system, political power lies not with the Paramount Chief but with the Administration. The administrative officers who come into face-to-face contact with the Ngoni are themselves subordinate to higher provincial officers and to the headquarters of the Government at Lusaka, and the Government is in its turn partly under the control of the United Kingdom Government through the Colonial Office and partly responsible to the local Legislative Council. Even the most recently joined cadet represents this powerful hierarchy to the Ngoni, and to a large extent his actions have its backing. There are about seventy tribes in Northern Rhodesia, and thousands more in the rest of the Colonial Empire, and matters of general administrative policy are decided by people some of whom have never heard of the Ngoni, and with reference to considerations of which the Ngoni are unaware. Thus to the Ngoni, the Administration appears always inscrutable and unpredictable. The unpredictability partly arises from the latitude which must inevitably be allowed to individual officers combined with a high rate of turnover. The good intentions of the Administration are suspect except where the Administration appears clearly as protecting Ngoni interests against the demands of some other group in the community, such as planters, Cewa, Indians, Coloureds, or missions.

The Administration works through the Native Authority, and it is through the Native Authority that Ngoni men and women have access to the Administration. This is not entirely true of Ngoni who live permanently in the township, where there are other channels of access, but applies to the bulk of the rural population. If direct representations are made to the Administration, then the man presenting his request for a gun licence, or for permission to 648 go to Southern Rhodesia, or to move to another village, or whatever it may be, is told first to bring a letter from his chief in support of his request and it will then be considered. Thus the approval of the chief is necessary for a variety of enterprises.

A chief may decide not to support a request for a variety of reasons. He does not want to recommend to the Administration projects which will turn out unfavourably, and yet he does not want to oppose unnecessarily the wishes of his people who may begin to drift away into other counties or to Southern Rhodesia if they feel he is being unfair to them. Many of these requests from his people are handled by the court clerk who has custody of the rubber stamps, without whose imprint no letter looks official. Other councillors and advisers may also help with these requests, and may advise the chief, in the light of their own interests and of their estimate of the public interests, on whether or not to support a request. There is thus opportunity for a friend of the chief to block [662] rivals and enemies by seeing that their requests do not go forward. Men who are thwarted in this way can appeal to the Administration, and may perhaps be granted their request. Such action, however, is likely to increase the antagonism of the Native Authority towards them, and in so far as they have defied the authority of the chief by appealing against his decision, they may be censured by [626] their neighbours. Thus what they gain in one respect may be offset by what they lose in another. When the quarrel between a councillor and a man who is, say, trying to open a shop in his village is of long standing and with faults and undisclosed offences on both sides, it may be unwise to risk the whole matter being brought to the notice of the Administration by an appeal over the matter of the shop.

In other situations, where the Administration endeavours to 627 intervene in some matter in which the chief is thought to be dilatory, 648 the Native Authority may shield a man because of the danger of possible repercussions. Thus, for instance, a District Officer on tour found a man living in a village at which he was not registered. He turned the offender over to the Native Court. The offender had a perfectly good defence but his story would have involved reference to incest by an important person and it was therefore undesirable that the District Officer should hear of the matter. Accordingly the Court delayed the hearing of the case on some technicality, and after the District Officer had left the area nothing more was done.

In the main the Administration presents a united front to the 648 Ngoni, and the words and actions of each Administrative officer

648 support those of his colleagues. However, chiefs and others do
[661] sometimes manage to play off one administrator against another
where there are differences of interest between different departments
of the Administration, and occasionally appeals by Ngoni chiefs to
high Administrative officials against the actions of their juniors
are successful. It is easier for Ngoni to exploit the much greater
differences of interest between the different sections of the non-African
community, officials, missions, planters and European and
Indian traders.

648 In the early years of this century it appears that the chiefs were
approached by labour recruiters, planters, and missionaries who
662 wished to gain their favour and utilize this to their own advantage.
It is difficult to gauge to what extent this practice continues. There
are one or two recent instances where the missions have clearly
[797] recognized the importance to them of securing the goodwill of an
Ngoni in high authority, and it would also appear that some high-placed
Ngoni have utilized their position to gain from the missions
services which might not otherwise have been so readily available
to them. With the cessation of labour recruiting there has been no
[464] opportunity for recruiters to offer presents to chiefs to sweeten their
way. The nearest modern equivalent to this practice is found in the
[466] facilities sometimes provided by mine managers in the Copperbelt
[574] and elsewhere for Ngoni and other chiefs to visit their tribesmen
working there, but with the increased stabilization of labour at the
mines this arrangement has declined in importance. Traders have
been known to offer bribes to chiefs, but so far as can be judged,
money and goods handed over in this way often bring no return,
and indeed some of the objects for which bribes are offered are
plainly beyond the power of the person concerned to grant.
Planters also seek to gain the support of those with influence in
tribal and village life. In matters of this kind it is difficult for the
observer who spends only a short time in the area to come to any
quantitative estimates, but it is my impression that as compared with
comparable situations in West Africa, as reported in the literature,
there is little bribery in Ngoni society. The first reason that suggests
itself is the poverty of the Ngoni in relation to their European and
Indian neighbours. Ngoni do not control any rich natural resources,
[556] save perhaps for a few timber trees, with which they might be
persuaded to part. The only form of wealth they possess which is
of value to their neighbours is their manpower. This was once
worth buying and perhaps could be bought. Now the chiefs and
headmen do not have the authority to order their people to go and
[461] work for a particular employer. Even if they did, Ngoni make

inefficient workers on the local tobacco farms, where the ties that 648 link them to the near-by villages with their marriages, funerals, and 662 beer parties are still operative, and where the wages are much [461] lower than in Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, Ngoni tend to suspect the good intentions of any non-African, however lavish he may be [186] with his presents, and for this reason are reluctant to enter into agreements with them the social consequences of which they cannot foresee.

2. *Rivals of the Paramount Chief*

In pre-conquest times the death of the head of the State was 643 followed by a struggle between rival heirs and by fission of the 648 State. Under British colonial rule these struggles cannot be carried on by force of arms, and it is difficult to split the tribe when there is nowhere for the dissident section to move to and when Administrative recognition is an important condition for political existence. Nevertheless the same struggles continue even if in a different guise.

One of the most interesting incidents in the struggles between 611 rival groups for the chieftainship occurred in 1903 and hinged on an 643 aspect of segmentation within the residential system which we have not so far discussed. It was customary for the heir to a large segment founded by his father to place one wife in the headquarters of that segment as well as establishing his bevies of wives with their own inferior segments. The eldest son of the selected wife grew up to be in charge of the headquarters and came to be identified with his father's father, the founder of the headquarters, as against his father who was lord of its segment. Thus, for example, Zwangendaba, heir to segment 1, founded segment 18 for his own great wife, but also placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 1, the segment founded by his father for *his* great wife. Similarly Mpezeni, as son of Zwangendaba, placed one of his wives in the headquarters of segment 4, which by then had replaced the annihilated segment 18. In this matter the Ngoni seem to have differed from the Zulu, for among them, according to Bryant, the *isizinda*, son of the placed wife, represents his own father as against the father's main heir.[1]

In 1903 the eldest son of Mpezeni I by the selected wife in segment 4 tried to assume the name of his father's father, Zwangendaba. This was in accord with his structural position as representing the interests of the founder of the segment as against those of the

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[1] Lancaster, 'Chronology', p. 80; Bryant, *Dictionary*, s.v. *isi-zinda*. cf. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, p. 401. Lancaster implies that the selected wife was called *ikohlwa*. This seems unlikely in view of the Zulu use of *i(li)khohlwa* for the senior left-hand wife.

611 reigning lord of the segment. It is probable that in this instance
643 the divergence of interest had been increased by the shooting of
Nsingu, for Mpezeni II, son of Nsingu and grandson of Mpezeni I, was only a young boy and in the hands of guardians who were commoners and who might respond to pressure from their ward's father's paternal half-brother. So far as can be gathered from the published account of the meeting called by the Administration to
[648] discuss the matter, the young Paramount was supported by the lords of segments 12, 14 and 17 and by the senior lieutenants of segment 10. He was opposed by the heads of segments 9, 13 and 16 and by the senior lieutenant of segment 4. Segment 15 seems not to have taken part in the dispute. Thus the main cleavage appears to have been between segments 10 and 12 on the one hand and the residue of 4 on the other. Segment 13, in terms of its structural position, was on the wrong side; this may have been connected with the fact that the regional governor of Mpezeni I who led segment 13 was born in the headquarters of segment 4. After a quarrel about succession to his father's office of lieutenant in that segment, he moved to segment 10 where he found favour with the chief and was later promoted to regional governor. In the 1903 dispute he apparently transferred his support back to his natal segment.[1]

The attempt to assume the name Zwangendaba failed. The young chief's supporters outnumbered their opponents at the meeting and his spokesmen argued that he had been recognized by all the other chiefs and by the Administration as Paramount of the whole Ngoni country. If his rival took the name he would be led to usurp the authority of the young Paramount. The Native Commissioner then ruled that the name could not be taken.

Throughout his reign Mpezeni II was opposed by a half-
643 brother, a son of Nsingu by a different mother. This man was older
611 than Mpezeni and claimed that his mother had really been Nsingu's
754 great wife, or at least that Nsingu had intended to make her so
669 before he was shot in 1898. This rivalry took two forms. He
endeavoured to bring destruction to the chief and his cattle by
578 sorcery, and on one occasion made what seems to have been a half-hearted attempt to kill him with a spear. At the same time he endeavoured to establish his own segment as a county of its own, and in this he was assisted by others who fancied themselves as chief of the proposed new county.[2] The sorcery failed, not only because it was merely sorcery, but also because sorcery and

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[1] *N.E.R.G.G.*, i, 4 (1 August 1903), Supplement. See p. 35.

[2] See pp. 143 *f.*

divination are not well developed among the Ngoni as means of 578 643
influencing action. The attempt to establish a new county failed 611
for lack of Administrative support. Chiefs still continue to express [754]
their rivalries through sorcery, and would-be chiefs still attempt to [669]
establish new counties.

When Mpezeni II died, his heir was still young and was out
of the country at boarding-school. A minor chief, after quarrelling [872]
with one of the dead chief's lieutenants about the funeral arrangements, proposed that the heir should remain at school to finish his education and that meanwhile there should be a regency. However the Administration arranged for the immediate return of the heir.

The rivalry between the Paramount Chief and his minor 643
chiefs shows itself in other less dramatic ways. Thus the Paramount
Chief's advisers told me that all cases coming on appeal from the 578
courts of minor chiefs were heard in the Paramount Chief's own 692
court of first instance, and that only if the verdict given there was not accepted was the case referred to the Appeal Court which was held at the administrative centre of the Paramount Chief's county every month. The minor chief's and their advisers told me that cases sent on appeal from them went direct to the Native Appeal Court, and emphasized that this court was composed of several minor chiefs and their councillors, called upon in rotation. In practice, as I observed in the course of my work, sometimes one procedure was followed, sometimes the other.

On the other hand, the minor chiefs and other politically 643
important people support the Paramount Chief in his relations with
the Administration. When recently Ngoni thought that the 648●
Administration was not treating the Paramount Chief with the respect due to his position, two minor chiefs endeavoured to organize
a petition to the Administration on the matter. When the Para-
mount Chief's deputy was put in prison by the Administration for [695]
embezzlement, it was a minor chief who protested most strongly to the Administration. However dissatisfied the minor chiefs and people may be with any particular Paramount Chief, there is little
dissatisfaction with the Paramount Chieftainship. This is still the
feature of their organization which in Ngoni eyes most clearly [186]
marks them off from their neighbours, and which most clearly links them in their present lowly condition to the exploits of their illustrious forefathers.

3. *The chief's advisers*

The men who advise the chief, who enjoy his confidence and 634 643
his hospitality, belong to a number of different categories. In each 645

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county the senior lieutenants of the county segment are well-known figures, usually headmen of large villages, and often seen at the chief's house. There are also the lieutenants of the segments of lower order founded for their great wives by successive heads of the county segment, and in particular the lieutenants of the reigning chief's great wife's segment. There are individuals who for some reason or other have become friendly with the chief, and there are those occupying posts paid by the Native Treasury. There are the kinsmen of the chief, including the chief's deputy. All these categories contribute to the circle round the chief which keeps him informed of what is going on in his county, advises him what he should do and travels with him on journeys. The constitution of this group is not fixed and there is no formal council to which persons definitely do or do not belong. An Administrative officer once asked Mpezeni II who constituted the tribal council, and the Paramount Chief is said to have found difficulty in thinking of any names. Not all the people who might be expected to advise the chief do so, for there are always quarrels and preferences within each category. In particular, the lieutenants of regal segments seem to play a comparatively minor part. They do not represent the interests of the county as a whole, as do the lieutenants of the county segment, nor of the reigning chief, as do the lieutenants of his own village. They are the favourites of former chiefs and the segments that they represent are not functionally significant under the present scheme of administration.

[648] In recent years the Administration has endeavoured from time to time to discuss affairs with the chiefs and the four newly appointed Native Authority councillors in isolation from the rest of the tribe.[4] In most situations in which matters of common interest are discussed there is, however, no restriction on who can offer advice to the chief or to the meeting. Any man can stand up and say what he wishes, but unless he is in an important social position people will listen to him attentively only if his counsel seems sound.[5]

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It is the custom for a chief to nominate one of his agnatic kinsmen, usually a father's son or father's brother's son, as his deputy.[6] Although this appears to have been a traditional post, I do not know what role was played by an important man's deputy in pre-conquest times. Nowadays the deputy of a chief may help in his various official duties and represents the interests of the chief's agnatic kin as against those of his lieutenants. In village affairs

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[4] See p. 151.

[5] See pp. 158*f*.

[6] *Mnawe*. cf. Zulu *umnawe*, younger sibling.

the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the 634
county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man 645
appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one
has been appointed in his place and the chief manages without a
deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's 202
messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger 634
who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority 624
messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers
are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only
called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief
nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so
in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen
in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts.
Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post
reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious
man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him
with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants 611
of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of 643
various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba 551
or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. 634
People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the
Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men
to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts
should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has
regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to [648] ●
counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy
of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and
between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who
have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties.
Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non- [645]
royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well
as the chief have interests in the common good and share the
responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftain- 634
ships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative 668
comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has

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[7] See my 'Village headman', pp. 100-6.

[8] *Linyusa*. cf. Zulu *i(li)nxusa*, messenger sent by a king or chief.

[9] See Brower, *Mbiri*, p. 23, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.

[10] See p. 140*f*.

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PLATE IV. Villagers hoeing a path to another village in preparation for a visit from the District Officer.

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PLATE V. A District Officer, with a county chief on his left, talks to village headmen during a tour of villages. In the distance are villagers listening to the conversation.

[Facing p. 145]

224 organized by a commoner. All the animals killed belong to the chief
476 and must be taken to him. He then usually rewards the men who
634 killed and carried the animals with part of the meat. There is thus
a difference from commoner hunts, on which the animals belong
to those who kill and carry them and not to the man in charge of
the hunt. Whereas on a commoner hunt some men usually lose
interest and drop out during the chase, this is less likely to happen
on a royal hunt. A commoner, even if he is a headman, cannot force
his neighbours to come with him on a hunt, but occasionally if the
634 field is very poor a chief will summon absentees in his court.

224 These royal hunts appear to be of social rather than economic
[136] significance. Big game is scarce in Ngoniland, and a hunt attended
by two hundred men may sometimes yield as few as half a dozen
antelope. Ngoni like to eat game meat, but they do not regard
hunting as an activity in which game should be killed as effectively
as possible. They scorn the much more efficient methods employed
by the Cewa, illegal though they are in the eyes of the Administration.
An Ngoni lad was once ordered by his village headman to
attend me on a hunt in which we used nets in Cewa fashion. The
lad was sulky throughout the hunt and made no effort to kill any
animals. A few days later we went hunting again, this time
employing Ngoni techniques. We tramped many miles on a very
hot day and killed nothing at all, and yet he appeared to have
thoroughly enjoyed himself. Royal hunts must be seen in this
light. A chief can no longer command a regiment of soldiers but
[681] he can call out his men hunting.[18] Men attend because they consider
it their duty to do so and because they are aware of the sanctions
at the chief's disposal.

Royal hunts are sometimes of practical importance, when
there are lions to be hunted. Lions appear in Ngoniland sporadically,
apparently on passage between the game reserve on the
Nyasaland side of the border and the sparsely inhabited Luangwa
Valley. Hunters like to be in strength when tackling lion, and the
men of a county look to their chief to call a royal hunt to deal with
[411] them. Chiefs are relatively well supplied with guns, and the
combination of many hunters armed with spears and a few guns
gives confidence.

6. *African bureaucracies*

647 Prior to the recognition of Native Courts in 1929 there was
648 little specialization in the functions of the various indigenous
693 leaders supported by the Administration. All of them, chief, sub-

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[18] See my 'Fort Jameson Ngoni', p. 215, for Ngoni hunting methods.

chiefs and district headmen, were in undifferentiated charge of 647
people. With the formal introduction of Native Courts came pro- 648
vision for the systematic review of judicial decisions by the Adminis- 693
tration. To do this some kind of written record was necessary.
Many chiefs could not write and court clerks had to be appointed. [212]
At the same time the posts of councillor and assessor were created,
the former to assist the chief in his executive and legislative capacity
as a Native Authority, the latter to help him in his judicial capacity
and to constitute with him the Native Court. Messengers[10] were
employed to preserve order in court, serve summonses, make
arrests and restrain the violent. Under the Ordinances, the Native
Authority has power to make rules and orders on a variety of
subjects, subject to confirmation by the Administration. The 692
Native Courts are competent to enforce these rules and orders, as
well as to administer 'tribal law' and certain items of Administrative
legislation delegated to them. They can impose fines or sentences [681]
of imprisonment or whipping. In civil cases they can award
damages, and charge a hearing fee, but the Ngoni do not distinguish
between the fee and a fine.

In 1938 an Ngoni Native Treasury was established and a 652
treasury clerk appointed to run it. After a few years the Adminis-
tration transferred a larger share of general revenue to the Native
Treasury and increased the activities for which the Native Authority
was responsible. At one time much of the finance of the Ngoni
Native Authority School, opened in 1938, was handled by the [871]
Native Treasury, though this was largely a matter of book-keeping.
The Native Authority assumed responsibility for the construction
and maintenance of roads through the reserves, the care of wells [653]
and dams constructed by the Administration, and the provision of
messengers to act as police at the lorry-checking points on the main
roads. More recently it has become responsible for ghee production,
for a demonstration farm and for a nursery of fruit trees. It has had
to arrange finance for new school buildings and county granaries
and to build these by direct labour. To handle the money for [647]
these enterprises there has been a treasury clerk and, recently, an
assistant who also helps with the collection of Native tax. The
Native Treasury acts as accountant for all these activities but the
extent to which the Administration, in one guise or another, directs
their carrying out varies considerably.

The revenue for the Treasury is derived from a share in the 651
Native tax, from the sale of licences for dogs, bicycles, arms,

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[10] Usually known by the vernacular term *kapasu* in distinction to the district messengers employed directly by the Administration.

651 marriages and for selling beer, and from fines and fees taken in court. In some years there has been a local levy on all men liable for Native tax.

642 The Native Authority, the Native Court and the Native Treasury form a single system of what is essentially local government. 693 The judicial aspect of government has always been to the fore, for the hearing of cases is an activity which has gone on without serious interruption since before the conquest. The first people to be appointed as assessors were in many instances the people who had been hearing cases with the chief for many years. They were joined in this by the councillors, for there was no separation between judicial and administrative organization in pre-conquest times and none had emerged by that time. Since the court clerk needed to be at least partially literate, he was usually a younger man who had been to school but, in some instances at least, he had close kinship ties with those in high office. He acted as a member of the bench as much as the councillors and assessors. In some courts other close supporters of the chief, particularly those who lived near their courts, also attended regularly to hear cases although they were not paid to do so, and in at least one instance a chief paid a regular salary out of his own pocket to a member of his court who was not recognized as such by the Administration.

Thus the court was the nucleus round which the Native Authority grew. The court clerk was employed as secretary to the chief and the Native Authority, and he had charge of the rubber stamps which came to be the new symbols of political power. He toured the county looking for dogs and bicycles without licences, for since he was literate he was considered the man to handle the money accruing from court fines, fees and licences. Sometimes he combined with these duties others that had nothing to do with court work, such as seeing that villages were swept clean or paths hoed. Because of his work in court he was well informed on disputes in the county, and since he made frequent trips to the township so that his accounts could be checked by the Administration, he was [554] well briefed on what was going on there. The office of court clerk came in this way to have a greater importance than its formal duties implied.

Yet in recent years the relative status of the court clerk has declined. The executive, as opposed to the judicial and fiscal, 648 functions of the Native Authority have become more numerous. 645 The activities of the Administration, instead of being confined mainly to tax collecting and the punishment of major crimes, have expanded to include a variety of social services for Africans and these need the support and co-operation of the African community. 648 The Administration has consulted Ngoni and other Native Authorities on such matters as agricultural control, the emigration of 645 women to the railway line, provision of better schools, and so on. In 1948 the number of councillor posts was reduced. Instead of employing councillors for general duties, each of the four councillors remaining, now receiving a much higher salary than before, has been given a specific task, the care of roads, the promotion of agriculture, the efficient use of school facilities, and the co-ordination of the work of the Native Authority as a whole. The Administration has attempted to make these four councillors, together with the ten Northern Rhodesian chiefs, into a formal council competent to take decisions without always referring to the people as a whole.

So far this attempt has not been very successful, but the power of the four councillors is certainly greater than that of their more numerous and lower-paid predecessors. The court clerks have been overshadowed by these new men and left behind in these new activities. Literacy is becoming common and clerks are no longer [212] in demand as secretaries to chiefs. The Native Authority is beginning to employ men whose jobs do not take them to court at all.

The present range of posts whose emoluments are handled by 647 the Native Treasury is shown in Table VIII.

All these posts are filled by the Native Authority in agreement with the Administration. It is easy to show how a large proportion of the employees are connected to the chiefs and senior lieutenants by kinship, but this fact is not as significant as it might appear. The Ngoni possess nowadays what may be called an omni-directional [611] kinship system in which ties of kinship can be traced as convenient through fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, husbands and wives, and by any combination of these. It would indeed be surprising if *Native Authority employees could not* trace genealogical connexion with chiefs and their lieutenants, for so can nearly everyone in Ngoniland. There is no formal selection procedure but a chief may announce at a county meeting that there is a post to be filled and those present may suggest names. Alternatively a chief may discuss the matter with his advisers and then offer the post to the man they decide on. Occasionally a man seeking employment [662] approaches the Paramount Chief in the hope that there may be a post to be filled. Thus although those who live near the chief, or who make it their business to see him and drink with him frequently stand a greater change of being chosen, choice is not restricted to these people. [see page 152, category 116. —Analyst]

[Text continues on page 153]

The tenure of a chief is very secure. Unless the chief is found 634 guilty of some crime serious in the eyes of the Administration or unless there is serious disaffection in his county which gains Adminis- 648 trative support, a chief remains a chief for life. For the last fifty years the Administration has complained that Ngoni chiefs are inefficient and unco-operative, yet the number of instances in which a chief has been deposed is very small. I could discover only one clear instance. This security is not enjoyed by other Native Authority employees. Clerks who are found to have embezzled [647] public money lose their posts even as they are punished in the [687] Administration's courts, but the impetus to remove the occupant of a post comes usually from the Ngoni themselves and not from the Administration. Assessors and others who offend their chief are usually dismissed, while at a county meeting men may raise complaints against the actions of an office holder which, if sufficiently sustained, may result in the chief's dismissing him.

The secure tenure of the chiefs derives in part from the acceptance by the Administration that their posts are hereditary. It is interesting to note that some holders of less important and more recently created posts are saying that their sons should succeed them.

Table VIII (p. 152) shows clearly the kinds of activities that 648 come within the control of the Native Authority. It does not show the whole range of social services which affect the Ngoni, for 65 education is largely paid for by the Central Government and largely administered by the missions, while the Administration [797] itself handles a wide variety of services, such as agricultural instruction, control of labour, maintenance of main roads, postal services, and very many more. The Administration endeavours to supervise contracts between Africans and non-Africans, and retains for its own courts the right to deal with disputes between Africans and non-Africans. Ngoni participate with other tribes as political groups only within the framework of institutions supervised by the Administration, such as the African Provincial Council of the Eastern Province. The Ngoni Native Authority is in fact, like any 645 other Native Authority, a local government body to which certain functions have been delegated completely by the Central Government, and which for other functions relies partly or wholly on skilled or specialized services provided for it by the centre. The Paramount Chief is hereditary chairman of a rural district council, 643 representing the interests of his peasants to the central authority and representing it to them.

However this analogy of local government is only partly 648 correct, for the society in which Ngoni now live is not a homo- 184

1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

184 geneous or wholly integrated one. It is a plural society, in which 648 as yet the Administration represents the interests, albeit the enlightened interests, of one caste and the Ngoni belong to another. Ngoni share an interest in tobacco booms with their White and Indian neighbours, and they share an interest in the colour bar with distant tribes, but the field of common interest of Northern Rhodesia, or any other major geographical unit, as a multi-racial whole is still small. Ngoni society has not as yet become as wholly integrated into the larger society as have say, the rural districts of Britain, because the well-integrated larger society does not yet exist. Meanwhile the Ngoni still retain a considerable identity of their own, and the chiefs and the Native Authority provide the nucleus for that identity. As such, the posts of chief and to a lesser extent of [645] councillor have more than mere administrative significance. Native Authority officials are still bound by ties of kinship to their people [602] and are still the living embodiment of sentiments of group loyalty and unity. They may have a variety of roles to play which are recognized as distinct, but they still have little private life, in which what they do is of no public concern. In matters of religion Ngoni identify themselves with their co-religionists, dead or living, [771] in other parts of the world, rather than with their pagan forebears. But in political matters Ngoni still identify themselves with Zwangendaba and Shaka and their successors rather than with the British Administration and the Queen of England. They claim the battle of Jericho as one of their victories, but not yet Trafalgar.

There has always been a clear division between the African 202 full-time employees of the Administration and the chiefs. A formal 648 distinction was made as early as 1904 between the Boma messengers, later known as district messengers, attached to the Native Commissioner's office, and the chiefs and district headmen who lived in their own villages. There were also at that time district messengers, later called divisional headmen, who lived in their own villages but received a few shillings a year as stipend and acted as policemen and messengers for the Administration.

Nowadays the Administration employs Africans in a variety 647 of posts, the most important being those of messenger and clerk. 624 The messengers are mainly stationed in Fort Jameson and Fort Manning and visit the rural areas on specific errands or accom- 648 panying a District Officer on tour. From time to time messengers are sent to live at compounds scattered through the countryside, where they remain for a few months at a time and act as rural [693] constables, enforcing laws relating to such activities as cultivation

and inter-village movement, reporting infringements to the local 647
Native Court or to the Administration. When employed on these 624
duties they are known as land messengers. They sometimes work in 648
conjunction with employees of the Agricultural or Veterinary [693]
Departments. Clerks spend most of their time in the Adminis-
tration offices but visit villages from time to time to collect tax and [651]
to carry out jobs, like selling maize in famine areas, which demand
some knowledge of writing. In Nyasaland, however, it is customary
for a clerk employed by the Administration to live at the Native
Court for longer periods to collect tax. In both countries employees
of other technical departments of the Administration, such as
Water and Health, are occasional visitors to the villages. The two
police forces, Northern Rhodesia Police and Nyasaland Police, are [625]
mainly concerned with law enforcement in the towns and on White
farms, but come to villages when serious crimes, such as murder,
have been reported.

Behind these African employees are the European adminis- 648
trators and technicians on whose orders they act. They form as it 647
were a protective screen round their White superiors, and access to
each White official is guarded by his Black entourage. Whites rely
to a considerable extent on their Black assistants for information
concerning affairs in the villages under their care, and villagers and
townsfolk rely on the co-operation of their friends in the employ of
the Administration when they seek its support. Thus the permanent
employees of the Administration stand between two worlds. For
the most part they are individuals who are seeking to rise, not in the
indigenous rural order but in the new urban situation, in which
smart clothes, wealth and a proper disdain for villagers who are
content to live in 'the jungle' have high value. Their own way of
life is at variance with both that of their White superiors and of the
villagers around them.

Not all the African employees of the Administration who work 167
in Ngoniland are themselves Ngoni, but even those who are not 582
are for the most part linked by affinity to Ngoni villagers. Thus
the relationship between the agricultural demonstrator or the land
messenger and the people he has to supervise is not simply an
administrative one. There is a tendency to widen the basis of every
social relationship in all simple societies, and it is easier to do this
when the social distance between the two persons involved is small.
Thus non-Ngoni members of the African Civil Service who are
posted to Fort Jameson often marry Ngoni women or discover some
remote connexion of kinship which links them to others around 166
them. Even Ngoni civil servants themselves tend to increase the 582

647 167 One reason why the two bureaucracies remain separate is that members of the Civil Service are moved from one headquarters to another as the exigencies of the service demand, whereas a Native Authority councillor or foreman cannot, in general, seek similar employment in another tribe. In 1951 an Ngoni Native treasury clerk was transferred to a similar post in a neighbouring tribe, but moves of this kind are still exceptional, and almost out of the question where chiefs' posts are concerned. Clerks and messengers employed by the Administration are more likely to be moved at short notice, and the whole process of adaptation has to be begun again. The Ngoni clerk who is moved away from Ngoni country has to settle down to life in a strange district, and the stranger who comes to Fort Jameson has to find his way around the complexities of Ngoni society.

648 647 This factor of movement is even more significant in the case of the White administrators. Most of them spend only a few years in Ngoniland, and to them the Ngoni are merely one tribe among the many that they meet with in the course of their professional lives. Most of them can speak Nyanja, which most Ngoni can understand, so that there is not the added complication of interaction through interpreters, with the interpreters in a key social position, as Mitchell points out for the Nyasaland Yao.[21] But even though they can speak directly to Ngoni, it takes time for them to learn the faces of the people they see in the various Native Courts and at tribal meetings, and it also takes time to determine how these faces are related in a political system. Thus of necessity administrators are forced to rely on the advice of the African Civil Service, principally the messengers and clerks, and of the important chiefs when they need local knowledge to guide them. Chiefs and clerks attempt to establish firm relations with the administrators with whom they work, but owing to the great social distance which separates Black and White throughout southern Africa, there is little scope for this. [558] Some messengers like to suggest that it is they, and not the White administrators, who really decide what shall be done. While this may have been partially true at one time, it is not true now. As Ngoni society has changed gradually in the direction of something with which administrators are more familiar, and as the content of administrative action has become less and less restricted to such simple activities as collecting tax and making roads, so the power of the district messenger has declined.[22]

[21] Mitchell, 'Political Organization of the Yao', pp. 153-4.

[22] Bradley, *Diary of a District Officer*, records in interesting fashion the relationship between himself, as District Officer, and Head Messenger Kachaje of Fort Jameson.

7. *Capital, court and chief's village*

634 We have spoken of the headquarters of the county segment as
the capital of the county, and this is in accord with vernacular
usage. Although each chief is head of his county segment, no chief
lives in his capital village. Each has made his segment and set up
a village of his own. This process continues with each successive
chief, each making his own new village. When brick buildings
[344] were made during the 1930s to house the newly recognized Native
Courts, these were located near the villages of the reigning chiefs.
Some of these are still in office, while others have died and their
successors live in their new villages, some of which are as much as
two miles away from the court. There are thus in some counties
three foci of political interest. There is the capital village, the
court, and the chief's village. Associated with each centre are
different leaders and different activities. The capital village provides
a link with the past, and in particular with that moment in
the past at which the segment was founded. The Paramount Chief
[643] retains special rights in his capital village and can make a garden
for one year on the old site of his county capital whenever it moves
to a new one. Most, if not all, capital villages are larger than the
average village but the senior lieutenants of the county segments do
not live in them, for like the chiefs, they have made their own
villages. Nevertheless, the lieutenants who do live in the capital
[554] are regarded as people of considerable importance in the county.
Meetings are sometimes held in the capital but more frequently at
the county court or in the chief's village. The court is the home of
692 the Native Authority, and it is there that the affairs of the Administration
● 648 are discussed. An incident well illustrates the association of
the court with the Administration. I once called at the house of a
634 county chief who had not previously met me. He insisted that I
647 should go to the court to meet him there, as that was where he
always met Administrative officials. County meetings are called
at the court to discuss matters raised by the Administration in its
letters to chiefs, and to formulate requests and complaints for transmission
to the Administration. The court clerk, the Native Authority
councillors, assessors, and messengers are much in evidence, while
the traditional advisers of the chief, his senior lieutenants, may be
in the background even if they are not silent. Meetings of this kind
are usually called by county chiefs, but occasionally a meeting may
be held open to the whole tribe. I have described elsewhere the
procedure at a county meeting.[22]

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[22] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. 107-9.

In contrast to this, the private affairs of the chieftainship, 634
matters connected with royal cattle, disputes among the chief's 622
wives and quarrels between the chief and his affines or close
supporters are discussed at the chief's village. Quarrels of an
apparently trivial nature, such as a chief's wife's running away
with a lorry driver, would in the old days have threatened the
whole internal structure of the county segment, and they are still [687]
treated as questions of State by the lieutenants and kinsmen of the
chief who attend these meetings. The contrast between these two
kinds of assembly is striking. They are described by different
vernacular terms,[24] and while any man can attend and speak at a
meeting at the court, it would be considered inappropriate for him
to intervene in a meeting at the chief's village unless his position in
the old residential system was a high one. Women listen to court
meetings, but rarely if ever speak, for the Administration works
very largely through men and it is men who discuss the kinds of
thing in which the Administration is interested. At the chief's
village, the interests of the chief's kinswomen and wives are often
directly concerned and they themselves contribute to the discussion.
The marriages of chiefs established, and to a lesser extent do still [602]
reinforce and establish, affinal ties which cut across the cleavages
between segments and which were crucial to the balance of power [578]
within the State. A quarrel between a chief and his wife was a
matter of political, and not merely domestic, significance and must
therefore be discussed by the chief's political advisers.

The sanction of deportation appears to be employed only in 687
connexion with offences against the chieftainship. Thus a lieu- 627
tenant who embezzled some royal cattle was called before a
meeting at his chief's village attended by the important lieutenants
in the county, and ordered to leave the country. Similarly, a man
who was found drinking with a chief's wife under suspicious
circumstances was ordered to leave the country by a tribunal of
this kind. He moved first to another county, but was forced to
move on again out of Ngoniland. Such actions are sometimes taken
without reference to recognized Native Courts or to the Adminis- 648
tration, and the effectiveness of the tribunal's decision depends on 687
the support it has from the people as a whole and from the Native [627]
Authority organization rather than on the ultimate sanctions
wielded by the Administration. However, when matters of this

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[24] A meeting to discuss matters of general interest is *msonkhano*; one to discuss affairs of the chieftainship is *lusonga*. cf. *ku-sonkhana*, to assemble (Nyanja) and *i(li)bandla*, assembly (Zulu). The different derivation of the words, from Nyanja and Zulu, is significant. *Lusonga* also means age-set.

687 kind are referred to the Administration, it may sometimes act in the
648 way desired by the chief and his lieutenants. Thus a chief once
discovered his wife in bed with a lover. The man was eventually
caught, and there were some who urged that he be hanged right
away, for no one would tell the Administration about the matter.
However, more cautious counsels prevailed, the incident was
[684] referred to the Administration, and the man was sentenced, in
accordance with the wishes of the chiefs and their lieutenants, to
three months' imprisonment. On his release, he was escorted from
Ngoniland by a chief. Later the man returned, only to be driven
out again. The Administration is concerned with upholding the
[696] position of chiefs, and in situations of this kind may regard, say,
adultery with a chief's wife as more heinous that with a commoner's
wife. On the other hand, the Administration cannot be relied on to
give its support automatically, and for this reason chiefs and lieutenants
may decide to act without reference to it. The Administration
has even on occasion awarded damages to a commoner
against the Paramount Chief.

It is perhaps significant that a minor chief whose county con-
634 tained a comparatively large number of villages from the segments
of other counties and whose claims to the county chieftainship was
disputed decided to hold a meeting to discuss county affairs not at
his court or at his village but at the capital of the county. He may
have hoped to quell dissension by emphasizing the links with the
pre-conquest past shared by the majority of his people.

Now that chiefs and others have begun building in burnt
344 brick, it may be that newly acceded chiefs may not find it so easy
182 to found their own villages. At the same time the policy of building
361 other public buildings in brick, such as treasuries and the proposed
welfare halls, in the vicinity of existing courts, may give increased
importance to the Native Authority centre. Already there have
been one or two attempts at opening shops near the courts to cater
for the needs of litigants, and it seems likely that the effective social
centre of the county will in future be the site of the Native Authority
rather than the capital village or the home of the chief.

8. *Politics and the courts*

The day-to-day work of the court takes up much of the time of
692 chiefs, assessors, and senior lieutenants of the chief. General dis-
cussion of Ngoni law lies outside the particular theme of this book,
but we are here concerned with the courts in so far as they form part
of the political system of the tribe. That there is a close connexion

between political and judicial actions is not surprising. There is a connexion of this kind in every society, and the connexion is a particularly close one in societies like the Ngoni, where the same individuals act as legislators, administrators, and judges, and where the court does not confine itself merely to the legal issues in a dispute but examines the whole network of social relationships which are involved, with the object of restoring social order. 692

There are three ways in which this connexion can be seen. First, the court may be used as a vehicle for implementing the policy of the Native Authority. Secondly, the Administration may use the court to implement its policy. Thirdly, positions in the court may be used to satisfy men who seek political authority. We have to deal with the third point in our discussion of the development of the Native Authority. [557]

A chief anxious to gain favour with the Administration sees that his court enforces with heavy penalties the various regulations with which, for the time being, the Administration is concerned, such as those relating to agricultural control, and school attendance. A chief who does not wish to co-operate will neglect these regulations. Thus a few years ago there was a regulation that once a child had begun a two-year course at school, he or she must stay to finish it. In one county this rule was enforced much as the letter of the law indicated, in another it was completely ignored despite the protests of school-teachers, and in a third it was interpreted to mean that every child must go to school. About a year later the Administration decided that as promulgated the rule was *ultra vires*, and said it must be withdrawn. Nevertheless in some counties it is still enforced. These chiefs and courts are not being merely capricious. Some chiefs support the missions and their schools, others oppose them; some are in alliance with the school-teachers and other intelligentsia in their counties, others oppose them. These various attitudes and alignments are reflected in the way in which they respond to a new law. This is particularly noticeable when public delicts, such as absence from school, are concerned, for in general the court is its own law-enforcing agency. There is no independent police force to bring offenders to court whether or not the court wants to see them, but only the assessors, court clerk, messengers and others who, when they are not busy about their own affairs, may if they are so inclined wander through the villages looking for unlicensed dogs and unlicensed beer. Thus the enforcement of law relating to public delicts depends largely on the relationship between the Native Authority and the common people. 696 557 648 692 [872] [625] [693]

696 In the court itself the magnitude of the penalties imposed and
damages awarded is to some extent at the discretion of the court,
and political considerations, among others, may influence judgments.
[681] Adultery with the wife of a chief is more heavily punished
than ordinary adultery, and people from other tribes, particularly
[186] the Yao, are discriminated against. Ngoni courts maintain that
they recognize only Ngoni law, even though the disputants may
belong to other tribes. These ideas are familiar enough, but they
indicate that questions of group membership, that is, political
affiliation, and relations between groups, do influence the actions
of the court. Within a county, hostility between a group having
[578] the ear of the court and one lacking it may find expression in
procedural obstructions, such as always hearing a particular suit
at the end of a day, or of continually postponing the hearing
because some minor witness is absent.

The chief and his advisers usually endeavour to maintain a
661 monopoly of access to the Administration, and this endeavour is
●648 largely supported by the Administration as a matter of policy. In
696 the particular sphere of legal action, appeal from the Native Court
to the District Officer is sometimes regarded as a challenge to this
monopoly, and litigants are sometimes punished for stating that
they intend to appeal. In a celebrated recent case when a chief
was successfully sued in the District Commissioner's court for
damages for adultery, his people came to him afterwards to express
their condolences, as after a funeral, at the injury done to his high
office by this procedure.

Native Courts are formally recognized under Ordinance by
692 the Administration, and hence changes in the indigenous legal
648 system brought about by the Administration are legal changes, in
that they have behind them all the paraphernalia of Ordinances,
Letters Patent, Orders-in-Council, and Acts of the United Kingdom
Parliament. This gives a special quality to manipulation of the
legal system by the Administration, for this is really only another
way of saying that effective sovereignty lies with the British Crown
and not with Paramount Chief Mpezeni. But within the framework
of analysis of the local situation, the actions of the Administration
and of the chiefs in controlling the working of the courts are
comparable sociologically.

The Administration is continually exercised about the quality of the work done in Native Courts, and in so far as all cases heard in Native Courts are subject to revision by the District Commissioner a direct check is, or could be, exerted on the way in which the courts operate. But Administrative intervention goes further

than this. Annual reports often draw attention to the smooth 648
working of Native Courts and their impartiality, while attempts 692
are made to establish British rules of evidence and of legal procedure [696]
generally. By trying thus to isolate the judiciary from the Native Authority and, more recently, by the proposal to introduce an entirely separate police force into rural areas, the Administration is engaged on an active policy of social change. One change that has already occurred widely is in the role played by the chief in his [177]
court. We have seen that traditionally disputes were settled by the senior lieutenants of the segment concerned and referred to the chief only if the lieutenants did not agree, for the chief represented the unity of the people and was above all disputes. When Administrative officers began to supervise the work of Native Courts they usually interpreted the chief's absence from his court as neglect of his duties. Pressure was put on chiefs to attend and participate in their courts, another step towards the secularization of their office. Nowadays some Ngoni chiefs stay out of their courts, others actively hear cases in them, and others drift in and out, sometimes intervening, sometimes waiting for difficult issues to be referred to them. The changed Native Court is one of the agencies whereby the transition from small-scale to large-scale society is to be made. The very successes which were hailed generally for Native Courts in Africa on the introduction of Indirect Rule are surely evidence of the importance attached by the Administration to maintaining courts of the right kind.

The role of the court in the essentially political relationship 648
between the Administration and the Native Authority is made 671
clear when we consider the sources of law enforced in the courts. 692
I have described elsewhere[26] how many of the regulations sought for by the Administration are introduced as Native Authority Rules and Orders, which are then approved by the Administration. This is a harmless legal fiction which worries no one, since new legislation emanating from within the counties is enforced or not quite independently of whether or not it is referred to the Administration and is included in its list of Native Authority legislation. But it is significant that even this fiction can have political significance, for recently it was suggested that a soil erosion law, which had been introduced as a Native Authority Order, would be more accurately described as an Administrative rule which the Native Courts were empowered to enforce. This suggestion was rejected by a meeting of chiefs, who stated that they wished to retain the

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[26] Barnes, 'Political development', pp. 100-3.

648 rule as a Native Authority Order.[26] Thus the chiefs preferred to
671 appear as legislators enforcing their own laws rather than as the
692 judicial agents of the Administration.

Besides the Administration, other groups external to the
692 indigenous system endeavour to influence the action of the courts.
664 Thus missions work through chiefs to try to prevent the granting of
[797] divorces in the courts, traders endeavour to get their disputes with
Africans heard in Native Courts rather than in those of the Administration, and farmers request courts to hear promptly cases which concern their employees.

Occasionally the Ngoni chiefs meet together with their people
671 and formally make a new law. This appears to have happened
646 about once in each decade. Yet in the courts new decisions are
661 constantly being taken since the circumstances in which disputes
arise are continually altering. The way in which these decisions are imposed throws light on the position of the court within the county, for many of these new decisions, precedents as we would call them, are introduced under the guise of a revival of some good but lately neglected tribal custom. There is no recorded corpus of Native law and custom which the Native Courts are empowered to enforce and, therefore, to say that a new decision is merely a revival of an established usage satisfies the requirements of the Administration, provided the usage is not 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. On the other hand, it enables the court members to legislate without referring the matter to a meeting of the whole tribe or county, at which anyone would be free to speak his mind. Thus the group of persons who are in power in the court further entrench their position.[27]

9. *Moral and physical sanctions*

The counties and the tribe persist as social groups despite the
692 ease with which their members may move away to other sur-
648 roundings. The Native Authority remains in power, and its courts
626 are full of litigants, despite the unequal distribution of privileges
and rewards. In a general sense the system works because there are moral as well as physical sanctions behind the rulings of the court. There is general agreement about the rights and wrongs of the actions with which the courts have to deal, and it is this that in the
[681] end usually makes a man pay damages and fines that have been
awarded against him rather than the threat of the Administration's force behind the court. The decisions of the courts are subject to

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[26] *African Affairs*, report, 1948, p. 47.

[27] For a further analysis of this legislative process, see my paper, 'History'.

review by the Administration, but in practice the cases are so 692 numerous, the written account of them so brief, and often the 626 handwriting of the record so bad, that it is difficult to make an adequate review. The Administration is able to keep some check [648] on the financial transactions of the courts, and convictions for embezzlement are not uncommon; but the Administration does not greatly influence the decisions taken by the courts nor their enforcement. For though there are police on the lorry routes and crocodiles in the rivers, it is fairly easy for a determined man (or woman) who is dissatisfied with the treatment he has received in [696] the courts to get away. He can usually get to a White farm or to a town, and once there it is not so easy to get him back. Men are not continually running away from the courts, for they usually accept decisions given against them, though appeals from a minor chief's court to the Ngoni Appeal Court are fairly common. Few people take their appeals further to the District Officer, and I have never heard of a case going on appeal beyond the Provincial Commissioner's Court.

The general moral approval by the people of the work of the 692 courts which lies behind much of the effectiveness of the Native Court system does not extend automatically to all legal action as 691 such. There is no widely held view that the decisions of the courts must be supported merely because they are the decisions of the courts. Some courts are good, some bad; and some decisions are good, some bad. The great majority of cases that come before a county court are brought by men and women living within the county, but sometimes a litigant begins his suit in a county court not his own, particularly in the Paramount Chief's county court, if he thinks that he will get a better hearing there. Yet chiefs support each other and a case brought before a chief by litigants from another county are sometimes thrown out, in accordance with the Native Courts Ordinance.

There is little moral sanction attaching to legal procedures, or 692 methods of appeal, or even to the particular sums awarded as damages. The members of courts tend in the main to uphold each [691] other's decisions, so that there is a fair amount of conformity throughout the ten counties. All those who work in courts have in fact an interest in increasing the power of the court system, which the people as a whole have not. Disputants will settle out of court if they can, for it is not so far to walk and the whole process is not [627] so disruptive of social ties, but members of a court will sometimes challenge the right of independent arbitrators, village headmen and the like, to come to any binding decisions.

The tenuousness of the moral sanctions behind the court 696 assists in the long run in maintaining the courts as courts of equity, despite the contrary tendencies generated by political manipulation. This is also partly due to the relatively poor physical sanctions directly available to the court. If a man is actually inside the brick court building he can be handcuffed and taken off to the Administration in the township. But if a man A has been told by the court to bring £1 next Friday to hand over to B, then either he can run away, or he can offer B 5*s*. out of court and hope to hear no more about the matter; or he can persuade B that it would be wiser not to press his claim. It may be months before B can persuade the court to send one of its messengers to bring A in by force, and by that time anything may have happened, and even the court may have changed its mind about the case.

It is the Administration which possesses physical sanctions. 648 However, little moral support is given by the Black section of 696 society to the exercise of these sanctions. The Native Court has to utilize the power of the Administration when it sentences a man to imprisonment, but this punishment is not regarded as a proper penalty for the offence for which the man is committed. If a man is ordered by the court to pay a fine or damages and refuses to do so, or maintains that he has no money, the court will order him to be imprisoned in the Administration's jail. When he comes out again, he is still under an obligation to pay. Associated with the use of prison is the lack of any stigma attached to having been, or 697 actually being, in prison. Prisoners are allowed a good deal of liberty and at one time were sometimes allowed to go home for a visit. Unskilled prisoners are employed in the disposal of sewage in the township, and it is sometimes said that it is only this that keeps people out of prison. Clerks and others who are sent to prison are allowed considerable freedom and are sometimes to be seen visiting their friends in town. There is good technical training available for prisoners, and many craftsmen owe their start in their profession to a stay in prison. Prison is regarded as essentially a foreign institution introduced by the Whites, to be manipulated if possible by the Native Court, but in no way connected with making people suffer for their crimes.

The Administration is able to use physical sanctions not only 648 against culprits but also to retain in the township possible witnesses 696 in cases under investigation. For this reason, and also because it is likely to investigate incidental irregularities which may come to light in the course of an inquiry, people try to avoid becoming involved with it. This affects their actions where in the abstract

they might give their support to the enforcement of law. Murder 696
has always been a public delict in Ngoni society and before the 648
conquest, a murderer was usually tried by senior lieutenants at the
headquarters of either segment 4 or 10 and if found guilty was [682]
executed by the first lieutenant of the segment. Ngoni still think
that murderers ought to be brought to justice, but the investigation
of murder, a matter for the Northern Rhodesia Police, is likely to
be obstructed even though the investigation may be carried out
entirely by Africans. Those affected by the murder wish to see the
murderer punished, but they also want to keep clear of the legal
process involved.

10. *External links*

The death of Zwangendaba was followed by a dispersal of 167
Ngoni groups into various parts of east and central Africa. The
present dispersal of Ngoni men and women from Fort Jameson 464
over southern Africa arises from a different social situation and takes place in a different way. The early mining enterprises of Southern Rhodesia, like those in the Union of South Africa before them, were based on migratory labour. As we have noted, Ngoni began going to Southern Rhodesia only a few months after they had been conquered, and they have continued to go ever since. Although the first batch of migrants were apparently ordered to go by someone in authority, the great bulk of men who have gone away subsequently have gone as individuals, even if they were recruited in batches of a hundred or more at a time. Thus, the dispersal of population is not directly related to the political system of the tribe, as was the pre-conquest dispersal. There has been a certain amount of regional preference, one county supplying more than its share of migrants to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, the Nyasaland counties supplying proportionately more migrants to the Union as compared with the Northern Rhodesia counties, and so on, but these preferences are not marked. The inhabitants of each county, and indeed of nearly every village, have kinsfolk who are scattered over the towns and farms of the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, the Transvaal and farther south.

Ngoni men and women are thus bound by many ties to other 167
persons and groups located far away from the villages of Ngoniland. 587
For the most part these ties bind individuals, for each person has
distant attachments which are not the same as his neighbours. In 464
this volume we are concerned primarily with politics, with social relations between enduring groups, and we shall reserve our discussion of the social implications of migration for a later work in

for a few heaps of stones hidden among the trees on the tops of 571
hills. People visit back and forth freely, except for the control 574
imposed at the customs barrier on the one lorry road. Many
people grow vegetables in Nyasaland, where there is more land, [439]
and sell them in Northern Rhodesia, where there is a better market. [311]

While this territorial proximity gives rise to a multitude of ties
linking individuals across the border, it does not lead to new
political relations between the counties with a common boundary.
Such political relations as do persist are survivals from the old order.
Although the formal structure of the Native Court system, as deter- [692]
mined by the Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia Administrations, 648
does not permit it, cases sometimes come on appeal from the Nyasa- 643
land counties to Mpezeni. There is official visiting between chiefs
across the border, and when the Paramount Chief is short of food
he may ask the Nyasaland chiefs to send him a few baskets of maize.
But despite the nearness of the Nyasaland chiefs to Mpezeni in
spatial terms, their political interests lie mainly in the opposite
direction. They are the only two Ngoni chiefs in that district of
Nyasaland and most of the chiefs whom they meet are Cewa. Their
Administration is separate from that in Northern Rhodesia, their
laws are different, and they look towards Zomba rather than
Lusaka as the seat of Administrative power. We have noted how
Mpezeni I contemplated moving into Nyasaland in 1897. As late
as 1922, when the Native Reserve scheme was under discussion,
Mpezeni II made some preliminary soundings on moving across
the border, but already by 1946 such projects were overshadowed by
the prospects of federation for the two countries of Northern
Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The people of the two Nyasaland counties are subject to the 611
same general influences as are their Northern Rhodesia neighbours 178
in such matters as increasing dependence on an exchange economy
and the development of a cognatic or omni-directional kinship 171
system in which links can be traced through spouses as well as
through fathers or mothers. Yet even in economic activity there are
significant differences. In Nyasaland, Africans grow tobacco for [249]
sale, while the Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia are not able to do so;
recruiting for the Rand gold-mines is allowed in Nyasaland and [464]
prohibited in most of Northern Rhodesia, including the Fort
Jameson area.

The annual meetings of the African Provincial Council of the 646
Eastern Province are attended by representatives from each tribe 648
in the province, two people from Fort Jameson township, the
Provincial Commissioner and sometimes a representative of the

646 Secretariat or the Legislative Council. The agenda consists of 648 items suggested by the African members and by the Administration. The African members of the Council elect four of their number as [666] their nominees to the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, which in its turn advises the Governor on the appointment of the African members of Legislative Council. As yet, the Provincial Council meetings attract little attention among the bulk of the African population, and few Ngoni know who their members are. Nevertheless among the chiefs and councillors these meetings, if regarded with suspicion, are of some interest, and for the two delegates they provide an opportunity for stressing in public what they regard as the Ngoni point of view as contrasted with those of other tribes. Many of the Ngoni speeches are phrased in anachro- [537] nistic terms, and represent more an affirmation of how different [196] the Ngoni are or used to be rather than a realization of how similar their interests now are to those of their neighbours. However, it is possible as the Council acquires more power and the consequences of its deliberations begin to affect more people directly, Ngoni will take a greater interest in its proceedings.[illegible] The same comments apply to Ngoni participation on the Provincial Team, an advisory body with representatives from the Administration, the unofficial White community, Indians and Africans.

Ngoniland is almost completely surrounded by Cewa chief- 648 doms. The old no-man's-land which isolated the Ngoni from their neighbours in pre-conquest times has long ago disappeared. On the fringes of Ngoni country there is a great deal of contact between Ngoni villages and their Cewa neighbours and the links of kinship stretch across tribal boundaries without interruption. Within 563 Ngoniland itself, under the control of county chiefs, are some 648 villages which still speak the Cewa language rather than the Nsenga dialect used by most Ngoni. Most of these Cewa-speaking villages [167] have come into Ngoniland after 1898. Their numbers are indicated in Table VII (p. 133) where it will be seen that on the average about one village in five has entered in this way. The great majority of these are Cewa in origin. Some of them claim that they have returned to ancestral sites, others state that they came as a result of land alienation or of some quarrel with their former chief. Others have been formed by non-Ngoni immigrants who have worked for many years in the township or on the farms and built up their own followings. In Northern Rhodesia villages of this kind form an integral part of Ngoni society. The cultural features which distin-

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[illegible] cf. Barnes, 'History', for a discussion of the way in which Ngoni members act at council meetings.

guish them from their neighbours are no more significant than the 563
many varieties of custom and belief which are to be found in every 648
Ngoni village. They do not form a group among themselves, their
members participate in all communal activities in their counties and
are to be found at all levels of the Native Authority organization
below that of chief. They are linked by kinship to their neighbours. [602]
The two Nyasaland counties, however, include relatively large
areas where there are only Cewa-speaking villages, and many of
these claim that they have been placed under Ngoni rule only by
Administrative action. From time to time they have made efforts
to break away and to attach themselves to some neighbouring Cewa
chief or to establish a separate chiefdom. There appears to be a
sharp distinction between the Ngoni chiefs, with the villages in
their county segments, and their Cewa-speaking subjects. It will
be remembered that the two Nyasaland chiefdoms represent the
head of the eastern movement of Mpezeni's group, and that some
of the settlement across the border took place as late as 1897. It is
not surprising therefore that in these two counties assimilation of
Cewa captives and immigrants has not proceeded so far as in the
longer established counties in Northern Rhodesia.

11. *Conclusion*

In this study we have attempted to show what has happened 17
in Ngoni political life during a period of 130 years. To-day Ngoni
society is changing but this has not always been so. Prior to the
arrival of Wiese in 1886, the actually existing social relations were
changing, but the form of the social structure remained the same.
Each new segment developed along lines that were already known
and each time the State split, the new States were copies of the old. [631]
A system of this kind could not have lasted for long, for the supply [647]
of new recruits to the Ngoni States must have sooner or later been
exhausted. In Africa, even if the overall conditions facilitated the
emergence of this kind of migratory militarism, they were particularly
unfavourable for its prolonged continuation. The Arabs
and the European Powers behind them were closing in on the centre
of Africa, and Ngoni days were numbered. Then came the defeat
of the Ngoni in 1898 and the emergence of a new system, in which
some of the actually existing political groups, and the relations
between them, appear to have a much greater stability than before.
But at the same time society as a whole has become much more 631
diversified, the spatial distribution of men and women in significant 178
relationship with one another has become highly complicated, and

CHAPTER II

THE NGONI KINGDOMS

642 643 692 In 1933, by the Native Authorities Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance, Mbelwa was recognized as Paramount of the northern Ngoni kingdom with six Subordinate Native Authorities under him, and his court was constituted the appeal court for their six courts. The same procedure was followed in the central kingdom for Paramount Gomani with six Subordinate Native Authorities, and his court as the appeal court for their courts. They were the only rulers in Nyasaland with S.N.A.[1] under them. Two other chiefs, Cikulamayembe of the Henga in Mzimba district and Kyungu of the Ngonde in North Nyasa district, had respectively four and five courts subordinate to them, but the chiefs owning these courts were not recognized as their subordinates. The Ngoni comment on these ordinances was 'Ha! Now they see what big chiefs we have. Only our chiefs are called *inkosi*.'

631 641 The northern kingdom was in Mzimba district, and Paramount Mbelwa's royal village was at the southern end of his kingdom. The central kingdom included the whole of Ncheu district with Paramount Gomani's royal village at the northern end. This kingdom had Portuguese territory on its western frontier, close to the royal village. When the Portuguese boundary was fixed in 1891, the Ngoni kingdom under the Maseko Paramount was cut in two and a section under a Maseko ruler became a separate kingdom under the Portuguese. There was constant trouble in the 1930's over this Portuguese frontier, for Gomani's Ngoni visited their relatives, grazed their cattle and hoed gardens on the Portuguese side; and from time to time claims by the Portuguese for rent for gardens and grazing lands and disputes about taxation, needed judicious handling in the District Commissioner's court.

162 563 The figures in Table II for Mzimba and Ncheu districts in 1926, 1931, and 1945 show the changes in the ethnic composition of the districts, some of which are difficult to account for. In Mzimba district the Henga under Cikulamayembe were included in the figures for the Tumbuka and hence the northern Ngoni kingdom did not include all the 196,208 in the district. In Ncheu, the total district population of 87,690 were all included in the central Ngoni kingdom, showing the mixed ethnic elements, among which the Ngoni, or those who were enumerated as Ngoni, had declined from 64,023 in 1926 to 15,242 in 1945. Between 1931 and 1945 the decrease in the number of Ngoni (31,066) was almost balanced by the increase in the number of Nyanja

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[1] This abbreviation will be used henceforward in referring to Subordinate Native Authorities.

121/ with the military organization and the Paramountcy. The main emphasis in the study is, however, on the Ngoni kingdoms in the 1930's, when the Paramount and the administrative organization under him were recognized by the Nyasaland government. Though certain elements in 642 the kingdoms, as for example the position and authority of the *alumuzana*, 648 were not recognized by the ordinance, the supreme authority of the Paramounts and the position of their appeal courts received additional support from the colonial officials, from the financial basis of the administration, and from the many new responsibilities of the Paramount for his people illustrated by the bye-laws made and the welfare measures carried out.

121/ It is the Ngoni kingdoms as they functioned in the 1930's which will be compared with other African political systems, bearing in mind all the time that behind the Ngoni kingdoms lay the authority and power of the colonial government. The comparison will be made with the general characteristics of what were called by the editors of *African Political Systems*, in their introductory essay, 'Group A systems', and the references will be to the criteria and concepts in that introduction.

The main characteristics cited of the Group A systems were all to be [642] found in the Ngoni kingdoms: centralized authority, administrative machinery and judicial institutions. These will be the chief material in Part II of this book on the Ngoni political system. In *African Political Systems* the editors stated that all the societies described in the book which were in the category of Group A systems were 'an amalgam of different peoples, each aware of its unique origin and history, and all except the Zulu and Bemba are still today culturally heterogenous'. Such a definition was appropriate for the Ngoni kingdoms, where [563] political authority was wielded over several different peoples, as the ethnic grouping in the 1945 census showed, and where there was cultural heterogeneity among the different peoples. This second characteristic will be examined more fully in Chapter III of this section, dealing with Ngoni culture. To the factor of diversity within the Ngoni 121/ kingdoms should be added two other points made by the editors 571/ towards the end of their introduction where they said: 'Community of language and culture does not necessarily give rise to political unity, any more than linguistic and cultural dissimilarity prevents political unity.' In the next chapter we shall be discussing the relation of language and culture among the Ngoni, and between them and other Nyasaland peoples. The second point in the essay which is also applicable to the Ngoni kingdoms and their neighbours was stated in these terms: 'The overlapping and interlocking of societies is due to the fact that where political relations end is not the point at which all social relations cease.' The relevance of this statement to the Ngoni in Nyasaland has already been mentioned in connexion with the visiting which goes on between individuals from the Ngoni kingdoms and states. It

CHAPTER I

THE MILITARY FOUNDATIONS OF THE NGONI KINGDOMS

AFTER the Ngoni settled in Nyasaland their political system went 178
through three main periods of change and development up to 1939. The 642
first was that of pre-European days, characterized by the military king- 648
doms. The second was the period of direct British administration, when
the chief features of the Ngoni kingdoms were latent and unrecognized.
The third was the period from 1933 onwards when the passing of the
Native Authority and Native Courts Ordinances gave recognition to
certain traditional forms of the Ngoni political system. Since, in their
early forms, from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, the
Ngoni kingdoms were founded on conquest, the maintenance of military [721]
power both for defence and aggression was an essential condition of their
survival. We shall therefore begin the examination of the Ngoni political
system with a chapter on their military organization. Men of the Swazi
and of trans-Zambesi clans were proud of the part their fathers and 181
grandfathers had played in Ngoni wars. These wars were recalled to the
people in the recitals of oral tradition and in the songs and dances which
were part of Ngoni culture. Cibambo, who has already been mentioned 115
as the historian of his people, wrote for me in English the following [124]
account of Ngoni warfare in the old days, part of which, written in
Tumbuka, was used as a reader for the schools in the Livingstonia
Mission area. Cibambo had, as a young boy, seen the preparations for
war, and had gone more than once as a carrier for his elder brothers who
belonged to one of the last formed regiments.

NGONI WARFARE IN OLD DAYS 539

¶ To the Ngoni war was like work and his heart rejoiced to think of it. 721
When the old men sat in the kraal the talk that roused discussion was of
war and their journeyings. All the heroes of the tribe had received their 554
praise-greetings through service in war. In this, ordinary people and
slaves came together, for though they might have been unknown to begin
with, if they were heroes in one or two wars the whole country knew them.
The slaves who showed their courage and strength in war quickly received [567]
their freedom and many also had villages of their own because of the
people they had captured in war; others obtained the standing of men in
authority. Those who were cowards were humiliated and laughed at, and [577]
those who had not entered the enemy stockade or killed a man were not
allowed to dance in triumph in the kraal but only to join in the *ligubo*
dance along with others.

[p. 28 is blank] 29

from the campaign and the purification of those who had killed any of the enemy. 726

Cibambo and other Ngoni informants had no idea of the size of the Ngoni armies beyond emphasizing that they were 'very big and very strong'. Evidence was forthcoming, however, from early European sources on the size of the armies which, though it can only have been based on guess-work, nevertheless gave an indication of the numbers involved. Dr. Elmslie referred in 1878 to having seen in the previous year an army of 10,000 of the northern Ngoni which went out in June and returned in September.[1] In the *B.C.A. Gazette* of December 1894, reference was made to the armies of the central Ngoni which were said to be, at the time of their last raids, 50,000 strong. In the *Blantyre District Note Book* there was an entry of 1884, giving no numbers for the army but reporting on the raid on Blantyre in that year when the 'vanguard of the army was composed entirely of young men in their first vigour of manhood, who were said to have marched 50 miles in half a day'. From such scanty references by Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni armies in the field consisted of large numbers, were highly organized, and trained to feats of endurance as well as in fighting skill. The Blantyre reference also brought out the authority of the big war *induna*, who was presented with cloth by the Moir brothers of the African Lakes Corporation as a bribe not to attack the Blantyre area again, and kept his promise. 701 175 [662]

Objectives in warfare

Dr. Kuper wrote of the Swazi military kingdom that wars were waged 'to extend the boundaries, to retain tribal independence and to secure internal solidarity'.[2] After the Ngoni kingdoms were set up in Nyasaland, warfare had the same objectives with the additional one of bringing back captives and cattle. In north Nyasaland Dr. Elmslie, in the reference already cited, wrote that, after the four months' campaigning the Ngoni armies returned 'laden with spoil in slaves, cattle and ivory'. Up to the coming of the Europeans many of the raids and wars took place in the hope of annexing additional territory. Dr. Elmslie wrote in 1878 of the Ngoni dominating an area of 30,000 square miles in north Nyasaland from the lake-shore to the Luangwa river. In central Nyasaland the *B.C.A. Gazette* of 1894 reported that the Ngoni Paramount ruled from the Lintippe river near Lilongwe to the Luvubwe river south of the Kirk Range. The chief challenge to Ngoni security in the northern kingdom came from the Bemba, and in the central kingdom from a combination of Yao and Arabs. Dr. Laws recorded in 1886 that the Ngoni, in their final victorious campaign against the Bemba, had 721 175 [171] [648]

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[1] Elmslie, W. A. *Among the Wild Ngoni*. Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1899, p. 79.

[2] Kuper, H. 'The Development of the Military Organization in Swaziland.' *Africa*, Vol. X, No. 2, p. 176.

721 175 648 defeated an alliance between the Arabs and the Bemba in which the allies intended to dominate all the territory between the Luangwa river and the lake-shore, driving the Ngoni from their highlands and opening all the country to the slave-trade. In the central kingdom, during the interregnum after Cikusi's death in 1891, a powerful Yao chief raided the kingdom, destroyed six villages and took many captives. In both kingdoms it was necessary for the Ngoni to defend their independence by constant vigilance and preparedness, especially against a combination of Arab slave-raiders and local tribes. Since large numbers of warriors were mobilized every year, these trained armies demanded an outlet, and the policy of aggression served the dual purpose of raiding enemy territory and maintaining a defence force.

727 There was a difference of opinion among informants about the results of raids in terms of spoils of war. In both kingdoms captives were taken in war, especially young men of military age and women. From tsetse-free areas where cattle were to be found, live beasts were brought to add to the herds in the Paramount's village and in those of the chiefs and *alumuzana*. Ivory for trading and cloth for wearing were two of the most valued forms of booty, and Cibambo mentioned the looting of clothes and weapons from those who had been killed. From accounts by the first Europeans, it is clear that the Ngoni burned the villages and killed the inhabitants in the majority of their later raids.

721 182 If defensive and aggressive military action and the acquisition of valued forms of wealth were two of the main objectives in war, a third was undoubtedly the need to build up a national sentiment within the military kingdoms by success in warfare in the first place, and by intensive training of all young men in the second, thus integrating the youth from conquered units with those who belonged to the trans-Zambesi clans. Again and again, in talking about their past, Ngoni informants from the Paramounts downwards emphasized the discipline and training of the young men in the days of warfare, and expressed their opinion that no other training could take its place. It was not only the common military training which contributed to this national sentiment and held the Ngoni together in a common purpose of preparedness for warfare. The *libuto* or age set within the *libandla* or territorial unit, and the *impi* or national army in which the territorial units were merged, provided a military organization which was adaptable and balanced, and which, through the control of the Paramount, gave the main impetus to centralization, while encouraging pride and initiative among local and age-set groups.

The relics of a military tradition

648 [797] In north Nyasaland the Ngoni never fought against the Europeans, and were not coerced into giving up warfare, but, as a result of their contacts with the Livingstonia Mission, they finally agreed to give it up voluntarily. When Dr. Laws met the Commissioner near Mponda's at

the south end of the lake in 1891, he pleaded with him not to use force 648 against the northern Ngoni. 'Don't fight them,' he urged, 'enlist them.' The military commander, Captain Macguire, who was present at the interview, showed interest in the idea of a new recruiting ground for the regular forces in Nyasaland, but his ideas were not pursued as it proved to be easier to continue recruiting the Yao and Tonga who had already shown themselves good military material.

In the central kingdom the first reactions of the Administration towards the Ngoni were favourable. Paramount Cikusi was visited by administrators in 1882 and 1886, and in 1890 concluded a treaty placing himself under British protection. On his death in 1891 his successor Gomani I sent messengers to inform the Administration of his father's death, to declare his allegiance to the British, and to present a bull and a cow, four tusks of ivory and twenty-five men to help in the war against the slave-raiders. In the following year 100 Ngoni warriors were drafted into the regular forces and Mr. H. H. Johnston reported: 'The Ngoni are altogether a splendid people and may be regarded as the backbone of British Central Africa.'[1] But this co-operative relationship did not last. In 1896 it was reported that 'Gomani and a number of his turbulent young headmen were opposed to our influence.'[2] Ngoni armies raided a mission station, an expeditionary force under British [724] officers was sent, the Paramount's village was attacked and his army defeated. He was taken prisoner and, refusing to walk to Zomba, was shot near Dombole in his former kingdom.

In the 1930's the Ngoni of the central kingdom referred repeatedly to the expedition sent against them, the defeat of their army, the death of their Paramount and the seizure of some of their cattle. They nursed [186] a grudge against their conqueror which coloured much of their sentiments towards Europeans. They sometimes referred to the long period of contact of the northern Ngoni kingdom with the Livingstonia Mission, and contrasted it with their contacts with several missions who [772] appeared to them to be in league with the Administration against them and not to take their side in relations with the Government as Dr. Laws had done in the north.

When Cibambo visited the central Ngoni kingdom with me in 1936 184 he was interested in making comparisons with his own Ngoni of the 178 north. He found that in central Ngoniland there were very few men who knew Ngoni songs well, and that in general the knowledge of the Ngoni language had almost died out. The big shields were not, he thought, as well cut as those in the north. Yet the war-dances were performed correctly, and the war-dress which the dancers wore was more striking than anything which had been preserved in the north.

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[1] Johnston, H. H. *Report of the First Three Years' Administration of the Eastern Portion of B.C.A.* 1894, p. 24.

[2] Johnston, H. H. *Report on Trade and General Conditions in Nyasaland*, 1896-7, p. 3.

brothers of the dead Paramount who acted as regents. Thus Ngwana 184 was cremated in Ulozi before crossing the Zambesi, and Mputa was 643 cremated in the river Lichiningo in Songea in Tanganyika. This was 766 confirmed by an informant of the Gama clan who were for a time under the central Ngoni Paramount in Songea and later were allied with the northern Ngoni. He said 'We killed Mputa, the *inkosi*, when fighting, and his people burned him because it was their custom in burying to burn.'

An old woman who came from Portuguese territory to see me in the central kingdom said that when Zintambira I died the Portuguese made [648] them bury him 'in a box'. The onlookers in Mcakatha at the time of my interview with the old woman said 'Yes, they were not allowed to burn him.'

The central Ngoni leaders referred often to the ritual significance of the cremation of their Paramount, followed by the washing of the ashes into the stream 'to strengthen the land'. On my first arrival in the central kingdom I was questioned closely by several of the big *izinduna* and *abalumuzana* about the practice of cremation in England. They [797] alleged that, under the influence of the local mission, the Paramount Gomani II had said that he wished to be buried in a coffin with Christian burial rites. They were much concerned about this, because of the effect on the strength and status of his successor and on the country as a whole. 'If he is not burned his children will not be honoured and will only be [648] as *abalumuzana*. Is it right that another tribe, the English, should come and change our customs?' Great relief was expressed when I told them that Christians were cremated in England with full Christian ritual, and also when I told them that the ashes of one of the early Scottish missionaries in northern Ngoniland had been brought back by his widow to lie there.

The following account of the funeral of Cikusi was given to Rattray: 643

'When the chief of the whole country dies, they do not immediately 766 inform the people of his own village. First they send messengers to other [203] villages, to tell them the clouds have fallen today'. They do this because they fear, 'if we tell his own men first, they may go and commence to forage and plunder, as is done at a chief's death'. Then all begin to assemble, all the war bands from the different villages, shields in hand. [301] They are decked out in their feather head-dresses, and wristlets and anklets of goat's hair (the bands) glitter as if it were all for show and not for a funeral. Then one of the old men dress the dead chief for burial. The knees are bent against the chest, and the arms bent, the hands are laid against the cheeks, and they take a small gourd-cup and make him grasp it in his hand. When they bathe him, they take grass from a forest glade. They do not wash the body, but only the face. The water they use they do not draw from the well where people drink, but take water from a running stream. The body is not anointed with oil. Then they take the spleen of an ox and lick his head until it all glitters, and then take the

631 arrived, and there were deep-throated shouts of '*Bayete*' until he sat in 643 his chair. The proceedings were under complete control from beginning to end. After a brief introductory speech, delivered for the Paramount 692 by his 'mouthpiece', the matters for the assembly were introduced one 645 by one by the councillors of the Paramount and were spoken to first 'from the platform', that is from the group round the Paramount. Then it was open for any of the *alumuzana* or headmen to speak 'from the floor'. They did so vigorously but respectfully, and there appeared to be no hesitation in putting forward views which were divergent from those expressed 'from the platform', and questions were asked with freedom.

The topics covered a wide range of subjects and dealt partly with matters sent on by the Administration and partly with the enforcement of regulations emanating from the Paramount for his area. A letter from [744] the health authorities about the incidence of bubonic plague in Southern Rhodesia was accompanied by an order to kill all rats and rabbits. Several headmen stood up and said they had heard by letter from men in the south about this. The Agricultural Department sent a notice exhorting men to take up gardens, and to go and settle and build villages below the escarpment where cotton and tobacco could be grown for sale. Those who went there as a group under a leader, so the notice said, would have that leader recognized as a headman. This drew a number of comments from the audience, some warmly supporting the scheme, others opposing it. The supporters welcomed the chance of earning money from cash crops and of having new headmen recognized in the new villages. The opposers repudiated the idea of setting up new villages. 'Why should we divide ourselves? We have our chiefs and our headmen. Let us stay together' was their theme, adding as a significant afterthought: 'If we go to those hot lands, our cattle will die'. The Paramount had introduced a marriage certificate for which a shilling had to [651 be paid at the chief's court when the marriage was registered. Very few 585] shillings were coming in and the Paramount wanted to know why. A number of men leaped to their feet and wanted to speak, and the *izinduna* had to keep order by pointing to individuals: 'You, what are your words?' The gist of that discussion was that Christians had to pay a shilling to the mission for being married in church, and they wanted to know if they must pay another shilling to the Paramount. His verdict was that Christians would have to pay twice because it was his law that marriages must be registered in the courts. There was much talk among the audience during and after this discussion and the *izinduna* had to call for order several times.

Two well-received items on the agenda were that permission had been given by the Government for villagers living on the Portuguese [648] boundary to go and hoe gardens over the frontier. This use of lands over the frontier, both as grazing-grounds and as gardens, had been

going on for years. The land was apparently unused by anyone on the 631
Portuguese side of the boundary road, and the need for extra land for
villagers living on the British side was urgent. The Portuguese authori- 643
ties had been charging rent for the gardens, a shilling or so per small 645
plot, which the Nyasaland men had paid after being threatened with
confiscation of their crops. This prolonged struggle had tried everyone's 692
temper and endurance, and when it was announced that it had been [648]
arranged that gardens might be hoed without payment, there was a
great roar of applause. The *izinduna* gave them time to talk among
themselves after this announcement, to work off pent-up feelings. The
other popular item was that the Paramount would have his own agri- [543]
cultural show at Ncheu in the coming year. He had asked Government
permission to hold it, which had been granted, and he had money in his
treasury to pay the expenses. European officers would come and judge
the exhibits and the best would be sent on to the all-Nyasaland show at
Blantyre. This announcement was greeted with cheers, a number of
questions were asked and much talk went on in the ranks.

This account of the Paramount's annual gathering illustrates several of the points made in the two texts quoted. It was the only formal occasion when the Paramount met as one body all those who bore authority in his territory under him. The kind of laws and regulations which were promulgated at these meetings were previously discussed by him with his officials and the chiefs, and their presence at his side, facing the assembly, made it clear to the people that the laws came from the Paramount and had the support of his subordinate chiefs. The freedom of discussion in the council gave anyone who had something to say the opportunity to stand up and say it. There was no sense of the business being put over quickly. The *izinduna* gave speakers time to express themselves, and allowed time to elapse for other speakers to get up. They were more lenient with the speakers at this meeting than they were with witnesses in the courts, and only once or twice in the sessions, which lasted six or seven hours, was a man addressed from the platform and told: 'Speak well that we may hear your words.'

This method of putting new laws and regulations before the people 563
illustrated the concept of one law for all, and of one source of law- 643
making within the territory, namely the Paramount, whom they saw 645
before them as the centre of the group of chiefs and leaders. The pro-
cedure therefore gave strong support to the political structure, for it 671
was only on the occasions of this assembly of all the Paramount's office- 692
bearers that all those in authority could be seen together as an authority-
wielding group, their relative importance being indicated by the order
in which they sat. The procedure also gave support to the policy of
political assimilation, for in that assembly of several thousand people,
the great majority were not of trans-Zambesi clans, and therefore not
acknowledged as Ngoni so far as tribal origin was concerned. They

353 women's. For all ceremonies the men sat on the right side,
592 and the women on the left, the place of honour for the
[562] leading man and woman being by the main door-posts. No
young man or woman ever thought of sitting near them.
The other place of significance lay between the fire and the
back of the hut on the right-hand side; it was known as the
[778] 'place of the spirits', the 'ancestors' corner', where the
[769] baskets and spears and other ritual objects were kept which
were used in the ancestral cult. Only the owner of the hut or
those taking part in the ritual could approach this corner.

In this land, into the cultural pattern of Ngoni village and household life, the Ngoni children were born. In such villages and homes they passed their earlier years, and grew from boys and girls to young adults.

The Ngoni kingdoms

642 When the Ngoni made parts of Nyasaland their homeland
they set up conquest states on the pattern which they had
been familiar with in southern Africa. Where they settled,
they either conquered the local peoples who lived in that
[721] area, or accepted their submission. Until the British ad-
[648] ministration was established the Ngoni carried on wars and
raids against neighbouring peoples to enlarge the boundaries
of their kingdoms. As a conquest state, similar to that of the
[162] Ndebele in Southern Rhodesia, the population of the Ngoni
kingdoms was of mixed origin, some whose ancestors came
from Natal, some from the territories passed through on
their northward march, and some from Nyasaland itself.

The kingdoms were organized on a centralized pattern
[643] with the Paramount Chief as supreme ruler and subordinate
chiefs under him. The Ngoni code of law operated in the
[671] courts of the chiefs, and, as they proudly said, 'there was
[692] one law for all people'. Military service was required from
[702] all young men, and each territorial chief had to bring his
[691] quota of warriors to the Paramount's village when a war
000 summons went out. Military service, obedience to the law,

There were musicians and craftsmen there, as at Enkodliweni. 105
All the senior Ngoni men knew Ngoni history, used 621
proverbs in the courts and in conversation, and two or three
senior men knew and carried out the ritual of the ancestor
cult. The new element in this village was due to economic
influences rather than missionary and educational. Most of
the men had learned to read and write Nyanja while away [212]
at work, but no one knew more than a few words of English, [191]
and only one or two of the leading men, and no women,
spoke Ngoni.

The men of the leading Ngoni families formed a closely
knit group for purposes of village affairs, social life and
ritual performances. There was a group of senior Ngoni
women who exerted a powerful influence in all matters
concerned with household life and the bringing up of children.
But out of a total of one hundred and twenty-one households,
only thirty-seven belonged to men of Ngoni clans, and [162]
there were only thirty-two women of Ngoni clans including
both the older and the younger groups of women. The [592]
aristocratic group here was small in comparison with Enkodliweni,
but the influence of their ways of living was proportionately
much stronger. The Ngoni men and women of
leading families were very conscious of their cultural distinction [186]
and also of their relatively small numbers, and many
were the complaints about 'those other people who are
spoiling our land'.

Political and social changes

When the British took over the administration of Nyasaland 648
between 1891 and 1901, the Ngoni kingdoms received no 177
special recognition. Their chiefs, called by the administration
principal village headmen, and their heads of clans called [622]
village headmen, were relegated to the same position *vis-à-vis*
the administration as the local peoples. Part of the Central
Ngoni kingdom was cut off from the rest by the treaty
demarcating the Nyasaland boundary from Portuguese East [131]
Africa.

648 Africa. All males had to pay taxes to the government, at
177 first in kind and later in cash, thus hastening the advent of a
[651] money economy. Most drastic of all the changes was the ban
[436] on warfare, which cut at the roots of Ngoni political organization,
[721] and at their system of training their young men.

[182] In the Northern Ngoni kingdom, the Scottish Mission
797 preceded the administration by more than twenty years, and
648 were largely responsible for a peaceful take-over of the area.
In the Central kingdom there was a brief war of resistance,
184 in which the Ngoni armies were dispersed and the Paramount
killed on his way to trial. In this area mission activity,
under several missions, never achieved, especially in education,
the ascendancy which the Scottish Mission achieved
among the Ngoni in the North.

178 As one result of the cessation of warfare, and of school
434 education leading to paid employment, there was an economic
556 redistribution of wealth among the Ngoni. Formerly
wealth had been associated with political power, and the
[661] Paramounts and their subordinate chiefs and heads of clans
had command of large herds of cattle, received the spoils
from wars and raids, and used the labour of conquered
villages to cultivate the land. After the missions and government
[871] were established, men with schooling began to earn
money as teachers, clerks and mechanics, and so to command
financial resources which were not available to the traditional
[464] leaders. The young men responded to the labour recruitment
which became a permanent feature in Nyasaland from the
1890s, and they went far afield to many types of work.

It was evident, just before World War II, that the Ngoni
178 kingdoms had had a profound shock from which they never
184 fully recovered, in spite of the recognition of their Para-
561 mount Chiefs by the Native Authorities Ordinance in 1934.
[648] The older men looked back with nostalgia to what they
called 'the time of peace, when the Europeans were not here
to trouble us'. These older men were known as 'the generation
of former days', because they had taken part in warfare

124 information is insufficient for any reconstruction in great detail, but
121 the general principles are clear and to some extent our conclusions
can be checked by reference to material from other areas, particularly
the nineteenth century accounts of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland
[114] and the Zulu. The account of present-day marriage is based on
information collected in the field during 1946-9.[8]

The period of the 1890's is chosen for comparison with the present
648 because of the catastrophic change in Ngoni life which occurred in
178 1898 when they were defeated by the British. Old people who were
alive during the period are still available for questioning and many
[115] younger people have been told of those times by their parents and
grandparents. Although Ngoni cannot generally remember beyond
their grandparents, genealogies collected now yield some information
[129] about the 1890's and link that period to the present. Important
178 social changes occurred in 1898, changes which for the greater part
were, and still are, regretted by the Ngoni, and these accentuate the
difference between time present and time past. The past is
186 recollected and recounted and has a moral value. Children are
taught the glories of the past to compensate them for the inadequacies
814 of the present. The teaching of tribal history as a school subject
reinforces this view. With the passage of time the past has been
idealized and simplified but the picture is still clear enough for us to
be able to distinguish probable fact from unlikely rationalization.
Marriage in 'the time of peace', as the period prior to 1898 is called,
is one aspect of this picture.

128 Marriage is one part of kinship, for it is by the twin processes of
[581] marriage and childbirth that the web of kinship is spun. For the
purposes of our analysis we have had to sever marriage from its
context in what may appear at times rather an arbitrary fashion.
A society is a whole, if not always a well integrated whole, and no
one part of it can be fully understood without a simultaneous
knowledge of all its other parts. Societies persist, more or less,
through time, and it is clear that we cannot hope to grasp the total
significance of the working of a society at any one time without a
knowledge of the changes or lack of change in that society both before
and after. Yet we cannot marshal all these relationships simultaneously, let alone present them through the medium of words.
Our attempt to comprehend the present cannot wait until we have
full knowledge of the future, and our analysis of one sector of a
system must proceed in advance of our synthesis of the whole.
Ngoni society has persisted through the last sixty years rather less
[182] than more, and it may well be argued that present-day Ngoni
society is poorly integrated. Nevertheless it is to be hoped that
121 an analysis of Ngoni marriage may, on the one hand, demonstrate

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[8] I made two visits to the Fort Jameson Ngoni while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, spending in all a year and eight months there. I was assisted by my clerk, Mr. M. B. Lukhero, in inquiring into former conditions as well as observing contemporary social life.

that despite the vicissitudes of history there is some unbroken but 121
continually changing system of social relationships which we may
call Ngoni social structure, and that there is therefore some point
in comparing Ngoni marriage in the 1890's with Ngoni marriage
to-day; and on the other hand may prepare the way for a broader
analysis of Ngoni kinship, of which marriage is one part.

The Fort Jameson Ngoni, with whom alone we are concerned in 101
this paper, differ considerably from the other Ngoni groups in
Africa and there is evidence that there are differences in marriage
arrangements even from the nearby groups in Northern and Southern
Nyasaland. The Fort Jameson Ngoni, numbering about 85,000 [161]
live in the Fort Jameson District of Northern Rhodesia and in the
Fort Manning division of Lilongwe District of Nyasaland. Their 131
country stretches from 13°25'S to 14°S latitude and from 32°10'E
to 35°15'E longitude. Like other Ngoni groups they have a history
of migration from Natal at the time of the rise of the Zulu under 167
Shaka in the 1820's. They arrived at their present abode in about
1870 and were conquered by British troops in 1898. The leader [648]
of the group was Mpezeni I, and the present Paramount Chief, [643]
Mpezeni III, is his son's son's son. There are ten county chieftain-
ships in Northern Rhodesia and two in Nyasaland, and each chief 631
has his own court. The people live by subsistence cultivation, with
maize as the main crop. A little maize and some cattle are sold 241
to the local European-owned tobacco farms and in the township of [439]
Fort Jameson, but the principal source of money income is work
on the farms or at the urban centres of Southern Rhodesia and the 464
railway line of Northern Rhodesia. Many women and almost all
men have been to Southern Rhodesia at some time or other[*].

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[*] For an outline account of the social structure of this group, see Barnes, 'The Fort Jameson Ngoni', pp. 194 - 252 in Elizabeth Colson and Max Gluckman, eds., *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, London, Oxford University Press, 1951.

[P.17]

CHAPTER II

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

1. *White conquest*

THE SOCIAL system which we have so far described flourished in 648 an environment in which the Ngoni people were separated from other tribes by a no-man's-land. Ngoni raiding parties [724] crossed this tract and returned with captives, food and some cattle. The only other contacts with the outside world were with Arab slave-traders and their agents who exchanged slaves and ivory [439] for cloth and guns, and with a few white and half-caste traders and explorers. In 1898 the Ngoni army was defeated by a force under British leadership and many villages were burnt down. Very 648 many of the cattle were looted and the people dispersed. A White 177 township was built in the middle of the Ngoni kingdom, the warriors were disarmed, and an administrative system was established involving both Whites and Ngoni. Missionaries arrived, schools [777] were opened, labour recruiters and later tobacco planters began their activities.

We are not concerned here with the total effect of this sequence [12] of events but only with the results it has had on marriage. We can distinguish a number of fields in which processes initially external to the indigenous society began to impinge on it and to become [178] part of it. The establishment of White control brought to an end the Ngoni wars. The building up of the Cewa chieftainships contiguous to Ngoni country affected the whole scheme of values held by Ngoni people at the same time as those values were being altered by the intrusion of White technology, political offices, legal concepts, and religions. The physical dispersion of the people in the face of the British troops was followed by a greater dispersion of men, and later of women and children as well, over the mining centres of Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt. 178

The large villages which formed the core of the residential system [361] were burnt, and their inhabitants never all came together again. At first people lived in small settlements of three or four grass shacks built in the hills or in the bush. Gradually the people gathered together in distinct villages, but their population was different in structure from that of the former villages. The groupings of people which stayed together after 1898 represented the smallest fragments [621] of the residential system, and those small fragments collected together into larger associations which were related to, but by no means coincident with, the larger segments of the old system. Some [571] segments left the area and rejoined the tribes from whence they

N 178 came. Others followed maternal links or were attracted to the
591 district messengers, the newly-created political agents of the White
Administration. About 1912 the Administration adopted a policy
N of decreasing the number of distinct villages and effected amalga-
● [648] mations between villages which had nothing at all in common
except spatial proximity. Later still, from about 1920 onwards,
N new immigrants began to enter the area from the surrounding Cewa
[167] tribe in the face of alienation of land to Whites.

These villages became the basic local administrative units. Men
N 178 were identified in terms of their tribe, their chief, and their village.
To this extent the new village inherited the political functions of
621 the old. But men, instead of being fixed in their allegiance, moved
641 from village to village seeking good land for their gardens and freedom
from quarrels. The proliferation of villages was to some extent
controlled by the Administration, so that if a man quarrelled with
his elder brother he could no longer easily set up a village of his own.
Instead he sought refuge with his maternal or affinal kin, registered
himself in their village, and became for some purposes at least
subordinate to the headman of that village. A man's political
position was determined by where he had decided to live, whereas
N under the old system he had had to live where he belonged politically.
The whole nature of affinal and maternal ties shifted so that in some
[600] instances they became more important than the ties of paternal
kinship.

N *2. Rival tribes*

648 The values of Ngoni life were in the old days held in conscious
opposition to those of the tribes with whom they fought. All
177 the later captives came from matrilineal uxorilocal tribes, who made
only token transfers at marriage, and who married at an earlier age
than did the military Ngoni. They did not take so severe a view of
adultery, and for girls copulation at puberty was obligatory. Captives
who had been brought up in this tradition were in the old days
forcibly required to adopt the Ngoni way of life, and indeed it seems
likely that to some extent they did so willingly as part of the process
N by which they transferred themselves in allegiance from one group
[182] to the other. After 1898 the central government of the Ngoni lost
much of its power and it was no longer able to enforce conformity to
Ngoni standards. Ngoni marriage payments had been made in
N cattle, and the looting of cattle made it more difficult to maintain
these payments. The example provided by the adjacent Cewa
167 chiefdoms reinforced the tendency to depart from the modes of
177 behaviour of the past. Furthermore, groups of Cewa entered Ngoni
country after 1898, as we have already noted, and these people had
N never been indoctrinated with Ngoni beliefs and values. In addition,
many individuals followed their captured relatives and joined them
[621] where they were living in Ngoni country. To-day some villages,
although under Ngoni chiefs, have matrilineal succession, dance

N
M

Cewa dances, speak Cewa, and are to a lesser extent internally 167
organised on Cewa lines. They do not form a distinct class of 177
village in Ngoni country, and are inextricably bound by ties of 621
kinship with their neighbours. But there are fewer traces of the N
former pre-1898 system of organization in such villages than in those M
which have a remembered history linking them with the glorious [184]
past.[1]

N

J. Christianity

At the same time as Ngoni values were being undermined from 648
within by the Cewa, they were attacked from without by the Whites. 797
The first missionaries to settle in the area arrived in 1899, although 581
there had been some earlier contact. They attempted to convert Ngoni to Christianity, and therefore to monogamy and pre-marital chastity. In chastity the missionaries were allied with the Ngoni against the Cewa; in monogamy the missions fought against Ngoni allied to Cewa. New rituals were introduced and a new hierarchy developed, composed of priests, evangelists and deacons. However, in this region, unlike much of the rest of Africa, the impact of Christianity has not produced a distinctive legal status of persons married by Christian rite. The Administration's earliest piece of marriage legislation was the *North-Eastern Rhodesia Marriage Regulations*, 1903.[2] There was specific provision for monogamous marriages between Africans, with penalties for bigamy and detailed rules for the division of property left by Africans married under these regulations and dying intestate. Few, if any, marriages involving Africans were made in this form, for it seems that the missions did not license themselves under the Regulations and their ceremonies therefore did not have legal significance to the Administration. These elaborate provisions were repealed by the *Northern Rhodesia Marriage Proclamation*, 1918.[3] Since then the only form of marriage performed within Northern Rhodesia between Africans that has legal significance in the eyes of the Administration is marriage 'in accordance with native law and custom'. What constitutes such a marriage has never been rigidly defined.

N

The missions themselves have differed in their attitude towards 797
indigenous marriage. One mission insists that all 'customary 581
obligations' must be fulfilled in addition to Christian rites, another holds that it is wrong to transfer wealth from one side to another in marriage, while a third holds that the fulfilment or not of any customary obligations is not the concern of the church. The Native 000

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[1] Cf. Read, 'Tradition and prestige' and 'Moral code' for an account of some of these changes in structure and values, based on observations of three Ngoni kingdoms.

[2] *Government Notice No. 2 of 1903*, *British Central Africa Gazette*, 140, x, 1, 31 January 1903.

[3] N.R. No. 18 of 1918, *Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette*, viii, 11, 7 September 1918.

The Native

797 courts themselves have been influenced by the introduction of
694 Christian rites, and in matters of divorce have been subject to
[586] pressure from the missions.

4. The punishment of adultery

The Administration prevented Ngoni from killing adulterers.
648 Instead they changed adultery into a private delict, without speci-
689 fying what damages could be awarded. Indeed the whole position
of indigenous tribunals was equivocal until 1929, when the Native
692 Courts Ordinance was passed. Until then no specific courts were recognized other than those presided over by White officers of the Administration. At the same time the Administration expected chiefs and others to maintain law and order and formally listed their duties in these terms. The chiefs had therefore to extemporize and administer traditional law as best they could. Since 1929 Native Courts have been recognized and the Administration has in the main supported the decisions reached in these courts. The law as administered now is certainly not the same as it was before 1898 and the differences are not merely the substitution of 'civilized' penalties for those 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. Nor is the law identical with English or Roman-Dutch law. The law of adultery and divorce is adapted to a situation in which
[593] bridewealth is rarely paid, wives are left deserted for years by their husbands, and the custody of children is uncertain and dependent on the agreement of the children themselves.

5. Labour migration

167 Labour migration began in 1898 and since then there has been
593 a continual flow of men and women seeking work in the mining
464 towns of Southern Rhodesia and on the railway line of Northern Rhodesia. The constant absence of men away at work leaving their wives behind has made for a preponderance of women over men in the rural area and has led to more adultery and to the emergence of pleas for divorce on ground of desertion. The increasing numbers of wives who accompany or follow their husbands had enlarged the social field within which the marriage relationship operates so that a quarrel between a man and his wife in town may be referred for resolution to kinsmen many hundreds of miles away in the village. Men marry fresh wives in the towns and bring them home years later with many children. Two people living in villages may trace their relationship to each other through some half-forgotten migrant in the towns.

581 In 'the time of peace' marriage was a process by which an
571 established social structure was maintained and developed. That structure has gone and Ngoni now live in a world of larger scale and greater social mobility. Marriage has become something by which local stability of relationship is maintained despite the fluidity of society as a whole. A man moves from village to village, from

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Case history 1

581 Amos[9] was married to Eve and wished to offer bridewealth for her.
583 Amos's father prevented him, saying that the marriage of Amos's sister
with Eve's father's son had not yet proved a success and and he did not
want at this stage to bind himself any further to Eve's kinsfolk.

N
614 There are no exogamous clans among the Ngoni but sometimes
613 an agnatic lineage has a distinctive descent-name, giving it the
appearance of an exogamous clan. Kinship terms are used within
[582] the lineage and members may not marry one another. As, however,
[601] descent is not usually traced, either actually or putatively, beyond
the grandparents of adults these exogamous groupings are small
N and do not persist in time.
563 Tribal preferences are not marked. In the past the Ngoni were
prepared to capture and incorporate into their society anyone who
came in their path. At the same time there was an association of
N South-Eastern Bantu origin with high rank, although this was never
developed into a rigid system of ethnic ranking. Nowadays Ngoni
[361] live in the midst of people from other tribes, in the adjacent reserves,
on the tobacco farms, in Fort Jameson township and at the urban
M centres. A man may sometimes be ridiculed if he marries a Cewa
[581] girl but many men do so, particularly if they live in Cewa-speaking
villages under Ngoni chiefs. Wealthy Cewa men from Cewa chief-
[428] doms who wish to bequeath their property to their sons sometimes
marry Ngoni women and offer bridewealth for them, hoping thereby
to prevent their sister's sons disputing the inheritance. There are
many men on farms and in the township coming from distant areas
N whose tribe may be uncertain or unknown but who manage to marry
186 Ngoni girls. The only strong antagonism is against the Nyasaland
Yao. Yao find it difficult to marry into aristocratic Ngoni families
581 and even when they do their rights are never certain. The Yao
are regarded by the Ngoni as clever sorcerers and are thought to
N have an excess of sexual vigour.
595 A few women become the concubines of European or Indian men.
648 Such unions lack much of the substance of marriage, although the
man sometimes makes a present to the woman's relatives which is
582 interpreted as a marriage payment. These men are not usually
concerned with establishing the validity of the marriage, if marriage
it is. They cannot take action against their wives in the Native
Courts, nor can they hope for redress in the Administration's courts.
Although the Administration assists women to secure maintenance
of the children, it does not recognize these unions as legal marriages.
In vernacular speech they are referred to as marriages and, despite
the protestations in recent years of more sophisticated Africans,
these women are not despised in the rural areas. A woman who

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[9] All personal names in this paper are fictitious. I have used Biblical names as these are common among the Ngoni. Where an individual is mentioned in more than one case history I have retained the same fictitious name throughout.

lives for some years with a European may leave him and enter into a 575
proper marriage. The favourite wife of a chief who died a few years 648
ago had earlier been the mistress of a European. 582
Christians must abide by the rules of their church or risk ecclesiastical
censure. A baptised Catholic man may marry only a Catholic
girl or he will be suspended from receiving the sacraments. A 799
Catholic woman must either marry a baptized Catholic or obtain 582
dispensation to marry a catechumen. A catechumen of either sex
can marry another catechumen or a pagan. In addition Catholics
cannot marry if the marriage would infringe canon law. Catholic
cross-cousins, therefore, can marry only by concealing their relationship
from the priest. In the Dutch Reformed Church a baptized
person, or a member of a class of instruction, cannot marry a pagan
or a Catholic without being suspended. Other missions have similar
rules.

Locality is of some importance in influencing a man's choice. The 621
bigger the village he lives in the more likely he is to take a wife from 582
within it, but the belief still persists that it is better to find a wife
from outside one's own village if possible. In a polygynous household
a wife married from her husband's own village still does not rank
as high as one who has been brought in from outside, of whom it is [554]
said 'her husband had to walk to get her'. The mechanisms by
which people living in different villages are brought into contact 628
are numerous,[4] but for finding a spouse the two most important are 584
inter-village dance contests and visits to relatives. Teams of young 535
people, usually all girls and young women, go from their own village
to others in the vicinity to dance against the home teams. Young
men stand around watching them and discuss among themselves the
erotic possibilities of individual dancers. As darkness falls the
dancers start back home, escorted by the young men who flirt with
them on the way. At the weekends there are many young men back
in the villages from their employment on the farms or in Fort
Jameson and they sometimes gather into gangs of half-a-dozen or so,
wandering from village to village in their best clothes, with dark
glasses and walking sticks, looking at the girls' dances and trying to
make assignations. This sort of flirtation is confined to the young
and irresponsible, and it would be regarded as unseemly for a
middle-aged man to pay much attention to the dances of young girls.

More respectable contacts are made by young people who go off 628
to stay with their relatives in distant villages. Everyone has 589
kinsmen and affines in many different villages, and it is the custom 574
to visit back and forth for weeks at a time. A young man may go on
several days journey to visit his relatives among the Cewa and
Nsenga tribes, or to live for a while with a relative working on a
distant farm. While he is away, he may meet a girl whom he likes,
and arrange to marry her. The dance situation does not provide

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[4] Cf. Barnes, op. cit. pp. 214 ff

11. Headmen

The kin of the couple are not the only people in the village who are 592
concerned in their marriage. In any matter of importance taking 624
place in the village, attracting many onlookers and participants, 585
there should always be someone to represent the 'owner' of the village, as the headman is also called. This is as true of marriage as of anything else. The intervention of the headman is clearly seen in such situations as the gall bladder ceremony and the entry into the wife's mother's hut. At these public affairs a lieutenant may be acting as master of ceremonies, even though he is not directly related to the couple. In most villages everyone is related in some way or other to everyone else in the village, but unless the marriage involves one of the close kin of the headman or his lieutenant, it is clear from the role he plays that he is present not because of his kinship to the couple but because he is a political official in the village. Thus at a gall bladder ceremony a lieutenant was called in to anoint the bride although he came from another division of the village. At another, a village lieutenant instructed the bride with these words: 'I am the lieutenant of the village. Fear me and I will also fear you. Work hard for [your father-in-law] Jesse.'

The headman of the village ought to be called to, or at least told 592
about, any meeting to discuss a quarrel, and if the matter is taken 578
to the court, he may be required to explain what steps he took to settle the quarrel in the village. His opinion on the character of the married couple is listened to. In the case of Daniel and Deborah, we have seen that at the first two meetings the headmen of the two villages were present, and although the headman of Daniel's village was not very closely related to him (he was Daniel's father's wife's father's wife's son) he took part in the discussion. At the third meeting the headman of Deborah's village was not called, but it is significant that the headman's father's father's brother's son was called in. The village was in danger of splitting at about that time, [621]
for a variety of reasons, and the headman's classificatory father was trying to form a separate village.

12. The Court

Beyond the ambit of the village lie the courts and the Administration. 592
We have seen that it is to the court that married couples 648
go when their troubles are greater than their kinsfolk can deal with. Beyond the courts there is always the possibility of appeal to the Administration, and from time to time the Administration intervenes
in village affairs on its own initiative. Another external system 797
impinging on marital affairs is that focussed on the missions. By contrast, the interests of White planters and urban employers are
concentrated in fields other than marriage, and except in the case of 466
employees of long standing, they do not concern themselves with the marital affairs of their labourers, save in so far as attention to these may conflict with a man's attendance at work. In the particular [illegible]

486 589 if the latter is unable to leave the area legally.[29] Various devices have been introduced to prevent women from using other people's passes, such as recording finger-prints on the certificate. On the other hand there are a great variety of ways in which women contrive to leave the area without a proper pass, such as marrying the bus driver for the duration of the journey, getting off the bus and walking round the control points, and so on.

13. The Administration and the missions

648 671 581 586 Under the Laws of Northern Rhodesia, which guide the Administration, the only valid marriages between Africans are those performed in accordance with 'customary tribal law'. There has never been any systematic attempt to codify the rules implied by this phrase, and in any particular case that comes before the Administration's courts, the views of individual African assessors must carry weight. The tendency has been to try and discover what used to happen in the old days rather than what was the *de facto* law at the time. On the other hand, there appears to have been a feeling that women were entitled to certain rights in equity that may perhaps have been associated with the proviso that 'customary tribal law' shall not be administered when it is 'repugnant to natural justice and morality'. The Administration has certainly been sympathetic towards deserted wives seeking divorce and has encouraged Native Courts to allow their pleas where the husband has been many years away and has not written home. In the past the District Officer on tour has divorced batches of women who had applied in vain to the Native Courts for divorce on the ground of desertion. It has been argued by the Administration that since chiefs depend on the gifts of returned labour migrants to supplement their own income, they are reluctant to offend men by divorcing their wives in their absence. There are fewer divorces, in relation to the same number [171] of pleas, granted in Ngoni courts than among the neighbouring Cewa, who are subject to the same Administrative and mission influences. The Ngoni find no consolation in this comparison. They merely observe that there are more divorces now than there used to be, and blame the Whites for the change.

797 581 586 The missions are all concerned with the development of Christian marriage, but their ideas as to what this is differ from one denomination to another, as do their views on the relationship of Christian to other types of marriage. The White Fathers and the Universities Mission to Central Africa do not allow divorce, while the Dutch Reformed Church Mission does. The U.M.C.A. insist that all 'customary obligations' shall be fulfilled before a marriage can be solemnized between Christians, the White Fathers

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[29] Cf. Barnes, op. cit. pp. 24ff for the rules regulating the movement of women beyond Fort Jameson District.

CHAPTER V

SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS

1. Old and new marriage

WE HAVE described marriage at two periods in Ngoni history, as 581
it was in the 1890's and as it is now. The differences we 178
have found between the two periods are not due to chance except in the sense in which we may speak of all historical incidents as being partly due to chance and partly determined by the limiting conditions imposed by the past. Changes in the field of Ngoni marriage have been paralleled by changes in other aspects of Ngoni social life, have been influenced by other changes and have in turn influenced them. Throughout Ngoni history men and women have always married, but the society in which they married has changed. Marriage in the time of peace was appropriate, more or less, to the general ordering of social life in those days, and modern marriage is appropriate, again more or less, to the social structure of today.

Our task is then a threefold one. We have to show the relationship 121
between old marriage and the rest of the old society, a similar relationship between modern marriage and modern society, and the process by which the transition from one set of conditions to the other has come about. We have outlined in Chapter II some of the internal
and external factors responsible for this transition, and the nature 128
of the material available to us on the 1890 period has led us, in Chapter I, to describe the old system largely in analytic terms. In this chapter we shall attempt to clarify our picture of the past in the light of an analysis of modern marriage.

In the old days the residential system provided the framework 571
for political and lineage ties. Marriage was a legitimate means whereby children were recruited into segments of the system. Marriage involved a permanent transfer of fertility from the woman's kin to her husband's kin. Adultery was punishable by death, and divorce was rare. Affinal ties cut across the cleavage lines of the residential system, but while these ties were important, a man could not transfer his allegiance to his wife's or to his mother's group. A man who quarrelled with his kinsmen could not move to another village to live, but could only hive off to form a dependent but recognizable cluster of his own, which still remained part of the same residential segment.

The material apparatus belonging to the system, that is, the great 222
villages with hundreds of huts and central cattle byres, was to a large 648
extent destroyed in 1898 by the British. A few important people
in the system were killed, and many of the cattle looted. With the 178
establishment of British rule, it was physically possible for the 648

Ngoni to rebuild their old system, yet they did not do so. The social conditions that permitted the old system to operate had disappeared.

The most important new factor was the presence of the Administration in political control of the area and backed by a superior technology. Tribal warfare was no longer possible, so that recruitment into the tribe by capture ceased. Frontiers and land boundaries were established, and free movement across the face of Africa ended. Instead men went off in parties to work in the mines, and either returned or were lost to the tribe. The internal structure of the state was modified by the creation of new posts held by Ngoni and by the actions and exhortations of Administrative officers who did not fully understand the operation of the old system and who were themselves bound by the general plan of Native Administration decided on for the Territory as a whole. The sanctions available to chiefs and headmen were severely curtailed, and in particular they were prevented from killing adulterers. Unrelated groups of neighbours were forced to amalgamate into single villages, while other populated areas were cleared and the land made over to White farmers who began employing labourers from near and far. Cewa captives returned to their old areas while other Cewa entered the area as labourers or seeking places to make their villages. At the same time as these new elements were intruding into the system, mobility within it by traditional processes became more difficult. The old political structure held together because there was provision within it for promotion and demotion, for vertical as well as horizontal social mobility. Successful warriors were rewarded by the chief, and made lieutenants and regional governors. After 1898 this was no longer possible. The chief lost his power to allocate people as dependants to an important or ambitious man, and as it became futile for men to struggle for position within the old system, so they began to struggle outside it, in the Administration, the churches, farms and mines.[1]

These were new phenomena, without structural equivalents in the old order. The most important change was the loss of sovereignty, but this in itself did not directly impinge on the field of marriage. It was no longer possible to divide up the kingdom in terms of the great royal villages under the leadership of senior queens, for the Paramount Chief was a young boy and a Catholic, and by the time he had acquired a number of queens, boundaries had already been drawn and the formation of new villages controlled by the Administration. Royal marriage has ceased to have the political significance that it had in the old days. This is attributable to the confinement of the kingdom within the geographical and administrative bounds of the larger system. But we know from other areas

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[1] Cf. Barnes, 'Some aspects of political development among the Fort Jameson Ngoni', *African Studies*, vii (1948), pp. 104-105, 108-109.

But we know from other areas 121
that loss of sovereignty itself does not necessarily disrupt the marriage arrangements of common people and we must look elsewhere for an explanation.

2. *Movement between villages*

The old villages formed part of the residential system, and their 621
structure was maintained by the power of the central chieftainship,
as expressed through the lieutenants of the royal villages, and by the
diffuse sanction of public opinion based on ideas held in common
as to the rights conferred by the payment of bridewealth. Nowadays
the lieutenants of the royal villages have very much less power, and [178]
bridewealth is not often paid. The village is held together by the
various ties of kinship and affinity between its members, and to a
slight extent by the restriction of movement from one village to
another. This control, exercised by the Administration through the [648] ●
system of registration of adult males, is largely ineffective except
in the Resettlement Areas.[1] Men and women are more or less free to
live wherever they can find relatives, and if they quarrel in one
village they can move to another where they hope life will be more
pleasant. There is no general rule to which appeal can be made
concerning whether a married couple should live uxorilocally or
virilocally. Hence a quarrel between man and wife or between
affinally related people may lead to a split in the village, and the
dissident section may attempt to form a village of its own or attach
itself to another village. It is therefore in the interests of the
headman that quarrels in his village should be settled as rapidly as [620]
possible, and he has therefore an interest in the private lives of his
people even though they may not be his close relatives. His interests
are represented by his lieutenants and are shared by everyone in
the village who wishes his own to be a large prosperous and happy
village. The theme of the good and happy village recurs in many
of the formal situations of Ngoni life and finds expression in much of [173]
local action on a village basis, as for example in the competitive
dances, the division of food at a ceremony and the organization of
the religious sects.

We find therefore that the headman and his lieutenants participate
in the ceremonies of marriage and in marital quarrels. Conversely [622]
the headman is brought into relationship with the married couple by
the allocation to him of pots of beer whenever there is a general
distribution even though he may not be at the ceremony. Other
important men and women similarly participate merely because of
their common membership of the village. For example, a hoeing
party was led by a middle-aged woman who was described as 'an
important person' in the son-in-law's village. She was in fact

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[1] Areas which have been reopened to settlement by Ngoni and other tribes since 1941 with various restrictions on agricultural methods and on population. About ten per cent of Ngoni live in Resettlement Areas.

621 related to him but her participation was explained in terms of her status as an 'important person' and not in terms of this relationship.

A man can move from his village to his wife's village if he or she 591 has quarrelled with his kinsfolk, and a quarrel with her relatives may 178 cause them to move in the reverse direction. These shifts from one kind of residence to another occurred in a different context in the old system. We have seen that there was sometimes a change from uxorilocal to virilocal residence, for at the beginning of his first marriage a man might leave his wife living uxorilocally until he had paid bridewealth. If there was a quarrel between a man and his wife's kin at this stage, they might try to delay his taking the woman to his own village, although they could not entirely prevent him from so doing. Hostility found expression in the desire to keep him under close surveillance, not in the desire to be rid of him. This old idea still persists to some extent, as we have seen in the story of Abner and Esther (p. 79). Esther wanted her husband Abner to live in her village so that her father could see that he looked after her well. A man may refuse to allow his daughter to move to her husband's village until he is satisfied that the young man is a good husband. This line of action, however, now applies only at the beginning of a marriage and in families where a man is determined to maintain his control over his growing children. When there is a quarrel involving a couple who have been married for a long time, it is then too late to hope that a man will improve his behaviour under the eye of his wife's father. If he quarrels with his father-in-law it is better that he should go and live in his own village.

The significance of the reverse move, from virilocality to uxorilocality, was different in the old system from what it is in the new. In the light of what we know of the South-Eastern Bantu and by reference to the present position among the Ngoni it seems probable that in the old days it did happen from time to time that a man sought refuge with his wife's agnates. Yet from the dearth of instances of this in my genealogical material it would seem that this cannot have occurred very often. Once a man had established himself in virilocal residence he usually stayed there. If he quarrelled with his kinsfolk all he could do was to move off and make his own segment distinct from those of his brothers; he could not seek permanent shelter with his wife's kinsfolk. Nowadays he can do so, and it may be easier for him to change to uxorilocal residence than 621 to try to form his own group. In the old days the transition from 178 what we now call a cluster to a division or from a division to a village was a gradual one. Spatial separation between minor segments of the same order was initially a matter of yards and with successive moves in the tribal migration became a matter of miles. Nowadays 648 there is a definite number of villages recognized by the Administration and a man who establishes his own residential cluster of huts is, or 361 at least was until very recently, in danger of punishment for not living in a recognized village. For many years there was an

Administrative ruling that no new village could be started without 698
a minimum of ten taxpayers, and earlier it was the policy of the 361
Administration to decrease the number of independent villages. These policies have now changed, and throughout the period there have always been devices for lessening their effect, but it is still true that sometimes the easiest way for a man to flee from his kinsmen is 591
to build his hut in his wife's village.

Case history 14

Samuel's father was headman of a village. Samuel[illegible] married in the village and had four sons by his wife before she died. His second wife lived with him virilocally and after she had borne two children she committed adultery with one of Samuel's elder brothers. Samuel divorced her and married a third wife who died soon after. Samuel accused his brothers of [554]
killing his first and third wives by sorcery. He married a fourth wife and went to live in her village, taking with him his four sons by his first wife and the elder child by his second wife. He is still registered at his father's village and attends there whenever the District Officer tours the area, but he has little to do with his brothers.

In this way the movements of men and women between villages 591
reflect the struggles between kinsfolk and between affines. Besides 621
the formation of new villages, which goes on despite obstacles placed in the way, there is a continual reshuffling of the elements making up the existing villages. Through marriage a man acquires affines and through them places where he can live if he wants to do so. This change in the structure of the village is therefore related to the new role of villages in the administrative scheme, the new [198]
rules for their formation, and the new kinds of movement from one village to another. By reason of his marriages the number of moves that a man can make if need be is increased.

3. Polygyny

The other important structural change that has been directly 595
related to external influences is the decreased incidence of polygyny. 178
In the old days a man acquired dependants in two ways, by begetting them and by capturing them. Wealth consisted of cattle and [556]
dependants, and the well-remembered names of the past are those of patriarchs with dozens of wives whose offspring now form the core of many villages. Nowadays the missions oppose polygyny, wealth can be acquired in other ways than by the marriage of daughters, and a variety of relatives with different genealogical ties can be gathered round one as dependants. It is rare to find a man with as many as five wives. With the decline in polygyny the [554]
system of ranking that was used to organize large compound households has fallen into decay, and except when the issue has been [592]
complicated by the payment of bridewealth, wives are simply ranked in chronological order of marriage. With the increased importance

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[illegible] See genealogy, p. 81.

tion for associating children with one parent rather than the other. 611
There is only the one proud dogma that the Ngoni, unlike their 591
neighbours, are a patrilineal virilocal people. This reflects the 602
actual dominance of the virilocal mode of residence but does not
furnish a rule to which appeal can be made in specific cases. The
only definite unit to which a man can be said to belong is his village, [621]
and such few attempts as are made to enforce rights *in genetricem*
are expressed in terms of residence in villages. In marriages that
are made outside the tribe, rights *in genetricem* become significant, 648 ●
for a child is not likely to wander to and fro between one tribe and 583
another hundreds of miles away in the same way as children change
from one village to another within the kingdom. Here then we find
more attention paid to the payment of bridewealth and to rights
in genetricem and these rights are enforceable through the police
checks on buses and lorries.

If a man is away working his interests are represented by his 593
kinsfolk. They cannot exercise his rights *in uxorem* for him, but
if they are violated they can act on his behalf. His permission is
necessary, however, before they can proceed to the court, and if they
are awarded damages then they are under some sort of obligation
to hand over the money to him when he returns. There was no
situation comparable to this in the old system, for men did not go
away for years at a time, and the violation of rights *in uxorem* was
punishable by death.

The position of the man as holder of rights *in uxorem* over his 593
wife is reinforced to some extent by mystical ties believed to connect 581
the couple, and at the same time the man can fortify his rights by
the use of medicines to ensure fidelity. During pregnancy, for a
short while after childbirth, and during menstruation, the actions
of man and wife affect one another automatically, and each is placed
in danger of illness by the failure of the other to observe their mutual
obligations. To protect his rights *in uxorem* a man may doctor his
wife so that possible violators may be deterred by the fear of mystical
retribution as well as action in the courts.

7. *Mystical beliefs and marriage stability*

The mystical connexion believed to exist between a man and his 581
wife serves to define their relationship more closely, for this same 600
connexion does not hold between a woman and her husband's kin
or between a man and his wife's kin. The adultery of a pregnant
woman's brother-in-law, like her husband's adultery, may threaten
the peace of her local group of relatives and friends, and may even
lead her to change her village or go to the court as a supporter.
The important distinction between the adultery of her husband's
brother and her husband's adultery is that the former does not
automatically endanger her delivery while the latter does. A man
confesses his adultery when his own wife gives birth, not when her
sister is in labour. This connexion is definite, and is not extended

4: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949)1951 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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rare divorce, has survived despite loss of sovereignty, territorial 121
dispersal, economic impoverishment, high incidence of labour migra- 121
tion, and frequent adultery and illegitimacy.[11] The Ngoni, 586
subjected to similar external processes, but in addition surrounded
by matrilineal peoples and themselves largely of matrilineal origin, [581]
have lost their agnatic affiliation and, with it, stable marriage.

It is difficult to see exactly where this trend will lead. The third
phase, as I have characterized it, is a recent development. There 121
does not seem to have been any sharp rise in marriage payments 583
until the 1939-45 war. During the war many Ngoni men earned 586
higher wages than ever before in the Army and in industry. It 178
may have been this that was decisive in raising the level of payments. It will be remembered that the thirty shillings minimum for the legalization payment was fixed by law during the war. It may, however, be suggested that if it is hoped by raising the level of payments to achieve stability in marriage, this hope is in vain. Payments may rise if people are in a position to pay more. Higher wages permit higher marriage payments without necessitating further changes in economic life, but in fact these changes are already taking place. Money is needed for more clothes, more food, more education, as well as for higher marriage payments. Payments rise as Africans participate increasingly in the general money economy of Southern Africa. The more they participate, the less marriage is constrained by a kinship structure based on morally significant face-to-face relations between agnates. The higher payments rise the more frequent becomes divorce. This is not a long-term prognosis, for I have indicated above that affiliation is not the only possible determining factor, and it is clear that if more people align themselves with those missions which do not permit divorce, the frequency of divorce as a whole may decline. There are other possibilities, but it seems to me unlikely that any of these other social mechanisms will become effective quickly; therefore the most probable concomitant of a rise in marriage payments in the immediate future is more frequent divorce.

Thus we see that at least for the Ngoni, changes in the amount and distribution of property have had a marked effect on the level of marriage payments, and that this effect can to some extent be isolated from that due to changes in kinship structure and in divorce frequency.

10. Attempts to resist change

The major structural changes taking place in Ngoni society in the 178
last fifty years have not come about entirely unopposed. The 648
Administration, the missions, and the Ngoni people themselves have noticed from year to year how the old order was changing and with varying success have made attempts to control the direction of change.

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[11] Cf. information from Kark cited by Gluckman, op. cit., p. 204, footnote 1

178 648 change. In the field of marriage we have seen that it was the conscious intervention of the Administration which forced the abolition of the death penalty for adultery. It is to some extent due to the Administration, with its emphasis that women must have rights equal to those of men, that divorce is more frequent than it was, though this result does not seem to have been planned. In the eyes of the Administration the important fact is that it is more difficult for a woman to get a divorce among the Ngoni than among the Cewa. Of recent years it has been more concerned with the increase in concubinage, prostitution and juvenile delinquency in the towns, and has introduced measures designed to check the flow of women and children from the rural areas to the towns. As we have seen, one result has been that it is possible for rights *in genetricem* to be enforced in inter-tribal marriages, and bridewealth has therefore more significance in these marriages than in marriages within the tribe.

829 181 The Ngoni people themselves have, on the whole, accepted the changes passively and regretfully. The one deliberate constructive action appears to have been the law made in about 1944 that the legalization payment shall be at least thirty shillings. Apart from this, the Ngoni appear to have been overwhelmed by events. The frustrations of the present time are all attributed to the coming of the Whites, and this in turn provides the reason why nothing can be done to change things. The past, 'the time of peace', is glorified and simplified, and to some extent reinterpreted in terms of the new values which have been acquired in the interim. Thus, some informants said that the Ngoni never fought other tribes, but only invited people to join the Ngoni kingdom. People like to assert dogmatically that adulterers were always killed, that every man always paid bridewealth, that women always married whom they were told, and only reluctantly admit, on closer questioning, that there were sometimes exceptions to these rules. The imputed rules of the past have become the 'customs' of the present, and the adjective *Ngoni* is applied not to what the Ngoni people do today but to what they like to think they did in the virtuous past. *Ngoni* marriage (*ukwati wacingoni*) is marriage in which all the ceremonial observances are carried out in detail, 'snuff-box' and bridewealth are paid, the woman is obedient and fertile, the man dutiful and respectful towards his wife's parents, and in which the couple 'live well together'. This is contrasted with modern marriage (*ukwati wamakono*) in which there is no bridewealth, few ceremonies, little attention paid to obligations towards kin, and in which the woman sues successfully for divorce. Modern marriage is an invention of the Whites, designed to worry the Ngoni. The Whites have conquered the Ngoni, they are the owners of the country, and there is nothing to be done except to keep alive the knowledge of the past.[18]

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[18] Cf. Read, op. cit. 'The moral code . . .', and 'Traditions and prestige . . .', *passim*.

This attitude of resignation, while still very common, has to some extent been replaced by a more constructive attitude among members of the Native Authority bureaucracy. Chiefs, councillors and other officials have considerable political power and are encouraged to use it by the Administration, whose policy it is to strengthen the hand of the Native Authority.[18] Court members introduce changes in law with some confidence, although this is still done under the guise of a re-enforcement of a forgotten traditional law. Chiefs, under increasing pressure from their people and the Administration, endeavour to take action to modify social life in their areas. As yet political action is not very sophisticated, and the workings of the Administration are not well understood. In those fields of activity where Administrative interest is strongest, such as price control, food production, and the amalgamation of villages, the Ngoni response tends to be in moral rather than in political terms. It is wrong that the price of maize should be so low, the good man knows best how to cultivate his own garden, people in a village must live peacefully together. By contrast, in the field of marriage, where the Administration is comparatively disinterested, and where the wishes of the Administration, missions and Ngoni do to a large extent coincide, the bureaucracy has been able to act in a more positive manner. The thirty shillings law is one of the rare legislative acts of the Ngoni chiefs and people, and it is significant that the law was not made until 1944, fifteen years after the passing of the Native Authorities Ordinance. It is said that the law was made so that women could be punished for adultery in the same way as men. At the meeting at which the law was agreed upon, it was also decided that bridewealth should be a minimum of six pounds or one cow. Whereas the ruling about legalization payments is still remembered and increasingly followed, the bridewealth rule has been largely forgotten. This attempt to check adultery by increasing the legalization payment was in general agreement with the wishes of the Administration and more or less with the wishes of the missions. It was possible to envisage a decrease in adultery due to a clarification of rights *in uxorem* without any other major structural changes, whereas the re-introduction of bridewealth as a universal payment could only be envisaged in terms of a return to the patrilineal virilocal residential system of 'the time of peace'. It would hardly have been possible for the Native Authority to have restored the old system had they wished to do so. Ngoni village life is now part of a system wider than the chiefdom and there are other ways of acquiring wealth and status than within the residential system and at the pleasure of the Paramount Chief.

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11. Marriage in an omnidirectional kinship system

We may characterize the change from the old order to the new

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[18] Cf. Barnes, op. cit. 'Some aspects of political development . . .'.

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PART IV

THE RESETTLEMENT OF NATIVE POPULATIONS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

§ 1. *The Problem and its Origin*

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IN Northern Rhodesia and doubtless over a much greater part of Africa 174
before the coming of the Europeans, the population-land pattern was a 166
changing, kaleidoscopic picture. If an area became overcrowded more land
was available, or it could be taken from a neighbouring people. A rough 311
balance between land and population was maintained by means of migration, L
inter-tribal wars, periodic famine and disease. M
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With the coming of the European the kaleidoscopic picture was arrested, 648 ●
producing what we may call the primary population-land pattern. This
was later modified, by alienation and reservation of land and by the move- 166
ment of peoples into Native reserves, to produce a secondary pattern.
New economic factors have so far modified this secondary pattern only to a L
minor extent, but it may be expected that they will tend to do so increasingly M
in the future. N

The secondary population-land pattern was brought about mainly by the 166
movement of the African population into Native reserves. As a result of this 311
movement large areas of Crown Land were left practically uninhabited,
and a number of factors operating together brought about mal-distribu- L
tion and congestion of populations within the reserves themselves. M
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So far the problem has been studied in detail only in the Fort Jameson
and Petauke Districts of the Eastern Province, the Mkushi District of the [101]
Central Province and the Ndola District of the Western Province, and it L
is within these districts that resettlement work—other than the 'Chitemene M
Control' scheme—has been carried out. The four districts are contiguous N
and the total area within them to which this discussion refers is about 131
33,800 square miles (4,000 square miles more than the whole land area of
Scotland but only about one-ninth of the area of Northern Rhodesia) with
a total population, in round figures, of 290,000 (about one-sixth of the total L
populaton of the Territory). N

The primary population-land pattern was such that the ten tribes living M
within this area had ample or much more than ample land, except to a minor 166
extent in the Fort Jameson District where the incursion of the immigrant 311
Ngoni in the later 19th century had created a potential congestion problem.
Under former conditions this problem would doubtless have resolved itself [167]
as it arose by migration of the Chewa to north and west, under pressure
from the Ngoni, but once the kaleidoscopic pattern was arrested no such

[p. 71]

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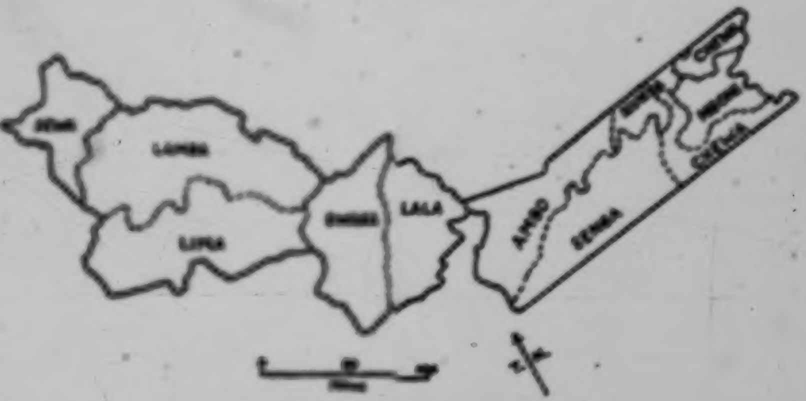

Fig. 1.—THE ORIGINAL POPULATION-LAND PATTERN
Showing areas held by tribes.

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movement was possible. The lands of the Ngoni and Chewa were then reduced, by alienation to European settlers and by reservation, to an extent which the following figures illustrate:

Habitable Land held by Tribes (square miles)

	Chewa	*Ngoni* *
Before Ngoni invasion	3,580	–
After Ngoni invasion	2,280	1,300
After land alienation	1,124	878
After creation of reserves	889	675

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Throughout the Petauke and Mkushi Districts the amount of land taken up by European settlers was negligible, but the Senga, Ambo, Lala and Swaka peoples were moved into Reserves some of which proved totally inadequate for the land needs of their traditional agricultural systems.

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In the west (Ndola District) the congestion problem arose largely as a result of displacement of people from the area which is now the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, a land loss which fell on the Lamba tribe. The land area of Mushiri's section of the Lamba, for example, which formerly included part of the Copperbelt, was reduced from 2,200 to 360 square miles. The Lamba were removed from the new mining areas and this movement accentuated by some migration of more distant peoples attracted by the mines, gave rise to a belt of relatively high population concentration about the southern and eastern margins of the Copperbelt.

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* With a mixture of Chewa and other tribes.

In demarcating the Reserves three assumptions were made; that populations would prove sufficiently fluid to adapt themselves to the altered circumstances and to attain an equitable distribution in relation to the available land, that artificial water supplies would be provided on a scale sufficient to allow of such a distribution and that improvement in methods of agriculture would be sufficiently rapid to compensate for land loss and to provide for increasing populations. However reasonable these assumptions may have been at the time, none has been verified by events. The boundaries of tribes and chieftaincies remained static, there was little or no migration from over-populated to under-populated areas and in one instance congestion was aggravated by immigration from outside the Territory. The systems of land usage tended to degenerate rather than to improve, partly owing to increasing pressure on the land and partly because of migration of the men to the centres of employment. It was assumed too that adequate agricultural and water development services would be provided, and it proved beyond the resources of the country to provide such services in time to meet the need.

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As a result of these factors, some of which could not have been foreseen owing to the lack of adequate data at the time, and some of which, like the economic depression and its effect on territorial finances, were unpredictable, extreme maldistribution arose in some parts of the Reserves. By 1941 more than half of the people within the Native Reserves of the four districts were living under conditions of more or less acute land shortage in relation to the land needs of their traditional sytems, and very considerable areas were in process of rapid degeneration.

L M N 121

There is now little point in discussing whether or not the application of measures for agricultural improvement could have solved the problems of over-concentration without transfer of populations. In all probability no measure which would have been practicable could have met the case. The agriculture of a people can be rapidly developed only if three factors are present together; the means, the incentive and the will. Throughout the area we are discussing these factors were and for that matter still are, to a large extent absent. Except for local concentrations of cattle among the Ngoni, Chewa and eastern Sengs, stock are lacking or negligible in numbers. The only implements are the hoe and the axe. A high proportion of the able bodied men are away at work, and the main source of income is from local employment by Europeans or the fraction of the wages of migrant labour which returns to the villages. With one or two local exceptions there are no cash crops sufficiently remunerative to compete with the attraction of the labour centres or to act as an incentive and provide the means for agricultural improvement. Nor was there any will to adopt new, incomprehensible and laborious methods while great areas of land, formerly in the possession of the people, remained empty and unused. This psychological factor alone would have defeated, and where it was attempted did defeat, all efforts at agricultural improvement. In addition, throughout most of the cattle areas of the Eastern Province population concentrations had reached such a level that even the immediate general adoption of an advanced system

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of mixed farming would not have solved the problem without the transfer of a considerable proportion of the people.

§ 2. *Recommendations of the Land Commission*

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In 1941 a large part of the land held by the North Charterland Exploration Company in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts was acquired by Government, and in 1942 a Land Commission was appointed which included in its terms of reference the making of 'full provision for the agricultural requirements of the Natives'. This Commission recommended that some 5,600 square miles of unalienated Crown Land in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts, about 2,000 square miles in the Mkushi District and 4,800 square miles in the Ndola District, should be constituted Native Trust Land and made available for Native occupation.

§ 3. *The Problem of Resettlement*

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The problem then resolved itself into making the best possible use of the additional land, and using it in such a way as to restore the population-land balance where this could be done. It was not, of course, possible, even if it had been desirable, to recreate the primary population-land pattern, but the grant of additional land gave an opportunity of creating a planned tertiary pattern to replace the arbitrary secondary pattern.

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Such planning requires a detailed knowledge of the land and of the agricultural systems employed on it. Fortunately the basic knowledge had already been provided by the Ecological Survey of the Territory. The vegetation-soil method, evolved by Trapnell, provided a rapid and reliable means of land classification and, again on the basis of the work of the survey, a method of estimating approximate land carrying capacities for traditional African systems of usage was devised. Description of the vegetation-soil method of land classification will be found in the two reports of the Ecological Survey and notes on the factors involved in the estimation of land carrying capacities are given in the second of these reports.*

A complete description of the method of estimating land carrying capacities, as employed in the resettlement work, and examples of its application are given in the other papers in this series.

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It is necessary to understand clearly what is meant by the terms 'land carrying capacity' and 'population-land balance', as they are used here. There is a very definite limit to the number of people any land area will support in perpetuity, if the population obtains its food only from within that area. This limit is fixed by certain natural characteristics of soil and

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* *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Western Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 15*s*. *The Soil, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North Eastern Rhodesia*, Lusaka: Government Printer, 5*s*.

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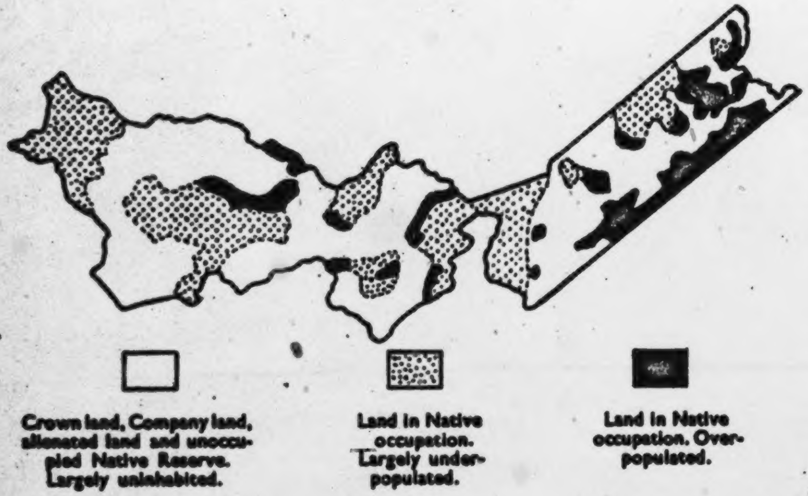
Crown land, Company land, alienated land and unoccupied Native Reserve. Largely uninhabited.
Land in Native occupation. Largely under-populated.
Land in Native occupation. Over-populated.

Fig 2.— THE SECONDARY POPULATION-LAND PATTERN.

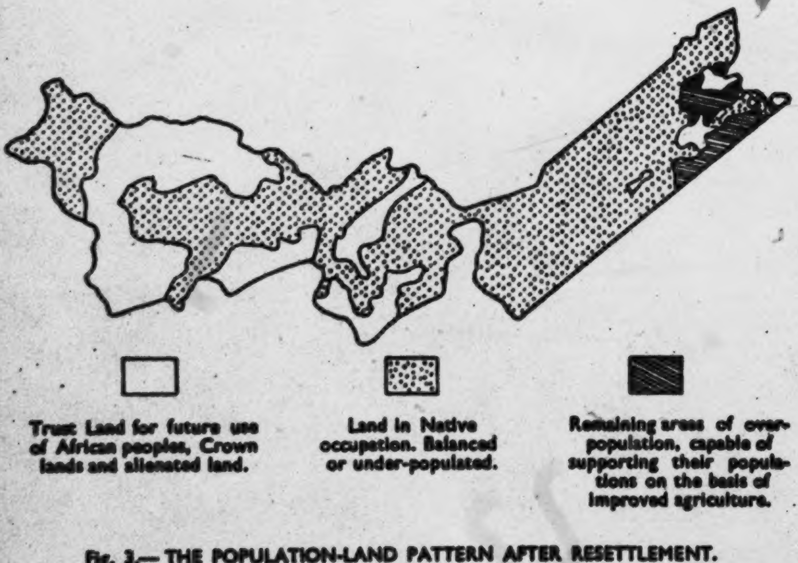
Trust Land for future use of African peoples, Crown lands and alienated land.
Land in Native occupation. Balanced or under-populated.
Remaining areas of over-population, capable of supporting their populations on the basis of improved agriculture.

Fig. 3.— THE POPULATION-LAND PATTERN AFTER RESETTLEMENT.

5: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5 ●
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climate and by the way in which the land is used. If the limit is exceeded *without a compensating change in the system of land usage* then a process of land degradation is set in operation and ultimately, unless food is obtained from outside the area, population must decline to the limit determined by natural conditions and the system of land use, or to a lower level. This limit, the maximum number of people that a given land area will maintain in perpetuity under a certain system of land usage, has been termed the 'carrying capacity' of the area *for that system*. It will be clear that the term can be used only in relation to a clearly defined system of land usage. Throughout these notes, when no statement to the contrary is made, the expression is used in relation to the traditional agricultural system of the tribes concerned. These systems, and the staple crops which go with them, vary greatly within this relatively small area of 33,800 square miles, and range from a primitive form of axe-agriculture among the Western Lala to comparatively advanced soil selection methods practised by the Eastern tribes. Descriptions of all of these systems will be found in the publications to which reference has already been made.

The term 'population-land balance' hardly requires definition. If the total population of an area is equal to or less than the land capacity for the system of agriculture practised, then a population-land balance exists within that area. When the total population is well below the land carrying capacity the areas may be described as under-populated.

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These concepts, and the methods of survey and of estimating the carrying capacities for the different land categories and agricultural systems, were applied to the problem of resettlement. Rapid reconnaissance surveys were made throughout the populated areas, with the objects of assessing approximately the land carrying capacity for each chief's area and estimating the number of people who would have to be moved to unoccupied land in order to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of the traditional agricultural systems. The estimate indicated that a total of about 160,800 people would have to be moved, as shown in the Table below.

District	*Tribe*	*Number of people to be moved*
Fort Jameson	Chewa Ngoni	98,300
Petauke	Senga	35,000
	Ambo	8,000
Mkushi	Lala	3,200
	Swaka	4,300
Ndola	Lamba	12,000

The estimates make no allowances for the readjustment of population distribution within the old Reserves. Some chieftaincies were in fact much under-populated and in some of the Reserves considerable areas remained almost or completely uninhabited because of water shortage, the occurrence of sleeping sickness or for other reasons. It would have been possible by re-distribution of populations within the old Reserves, in conjunction with provision of water supplies and measures against 'fly', materially to reduce the number of people to be moved to unoccupied land. Such a course would have involved serious political repercussions and, in view of the amount of land available, it was never contemplated.

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The next essential step was to survey the vacant land available for resettlement, to prepare vegetation-soil maps of the areas, and to estimate the carrying capacity of each area for the traditional agricultural system of the people who would occupy it. In the Eastern Province and the Ndola District surveys were made on the basis of parallel straight line traverses, using liquid prismatic compasses and cyclometer wheels. Traverse lines were usually one mile apart, but wider intervals up to three miles were used, in order to save time, if the country was relatively uniform or if no high degree of accuracy was required. In some instances, when very accurate maps were wanted, the traverse interval was reduced to one half or one quarter of a mile. Information on water supplies, the state of regeneration of land and timber, the former inhabitants and other relevant details, was collected in the course of these surveys. In the case of Mkushi District, where there was an abundance of available land in relation to the needs of the population, sample traverses only were used. The methods of survey and mapping are described in one of the other papers in this series.

When estimates had been made of the number of people to be moved from each of the over-crowded chieftaincies and the carrying capacity of the available land, divided into convenient areas, had been ascertained, the planning of population movements became, in theory, simple. In practice, of course, there were a good many difficulties.

Tribal boundaries and the original ownership of the land had to be taken into consideration, though these were not regarded as sacrosanct and, in fact, a large area formerly occupied by the Senga was used for the resettlement of a section of the Chewa. Other factors also limit movement. There is, obviously, a physical limit; fifty miles was regarded as the maximum practical move, but in extreme cases villages were moved as much as seventy miles. Traditional systems of land usage are, generally, adaptations to particular sets of ecological conditions and people cannot be moved into an environment unsuited to their food crops and method of production. Cattle-owning people will not willingly move to tsetse country leaving their herds behind.

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Water supplies proved to be a very great difficulty over large areas, especially in the Eastern Province. Natural supplies were not sufficient to allow of full utilization of the land on the basis of its carrying capacity, and in some cases practically no settlement was possible before artificial watering points had been provided. It appeared that, in the Eastern Province at least, permanent surface water had greatly diminished in the twelve to twenty years during which the land had lain unoccupied. The old sites of villages and their sources of water supply were noted in the course of the

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L M N 312 361 surveys. In an astonishing number of cases these sites were in completely waterless country and what were stated to have been permanent streams, pools and springs had dried up. The fierce late fires which swept through the empty country each year may have been a major cause of the dessication.

§ 4. *Roads and Watering Points*

L M N 648 491 After survey had been completed and before movement into an area started, roads (generally earth tracks twelve feet wide) were constructed. These were essential in order to facilitate movements of people and their food-stocks and goods, to enable subsequent supervision and to allow of the construction of watering-points. The preliminary surveys and the maps constructed from them were invaluable in planning the road systems in relation to topography and soils, so that they would be passable throughout the year.

L M N 648 312 653 Wherever necessary plans were prepared in advance, also on the basis of the preliminary surveys, to provide sufficient water for the number of people to be moved into each area, and the work of constructing water points was undertaken by the Water Development Department. Water was usually provided by means of dug wells (25 to 100 feet in depth), occasionally supplemented by bore-holes, but in some areas wells were unsuccessful and earth dams were constructed. In one locality, the Mushiri resettlement area of Ndola, a particularly favourable site was used to make a large central L [228] dam which was stocked with bream (*Tilapia spp.*) in the hope of producing a fish supply for the surrounding villages. A large scale water programme was undertaken, and is still in progress, in the Eastern Province and a minor programme of some thirty wells has been completed in Ndola District where natural supplies are very much better.

§ 5. *Game and Tsetse Control*

L M N 136 166 311 Another difficulty was the occurance of destructive game in unoccupied country. Villages commonly objected to movement on the grounds that elephant and wild pigs would destroy the crops, an objection which often contained a good deal of substance.

Reduction of destructive game was carried out, as far as ammunition supplies and trained African staff would allow, by the Department of Game and Tsetse Control.

N 744 [164] In the northern part of Fort Jameson Districts, where a few cases of sleeping sickness appeared among villages moved into a 'fly' area, a campaign of game elimination was undertaken by the Department in conjunction with the clearing of 'hard pan' (pockets of *Albizzia Harveyi* on compacting pedocal soils, generally near watercourses). These measures appear to be giving very satisfactory and rapid results and the fly has been much reduced or eliminated in areas where it was formerly abundant.

Other parts of the Eastern Province resettlement areas are also 'fly' country, 166 but apparently free from sleeping sickness and it is only in the northern 136 zone that intensive measures against tsetse have been carried out so far. 164 The large available land area in Mkushi enabled the relatively small 'fly' 744 areas to be avoided. This was fortunate as sleeping sickness is believed to be endemic in the western 'fly' areas of Mkushi.

The resettlement area of Ndola District was believed to contain sparse 'fly' in local pockets. Trials were made by the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments in co-operation by placing herds of cattle throughout the area and grazing them within a definite range about the kraals. Ten herds each of five beasts were used; the animals were numbered and blood slides were taken from each at frequent intervals. As a result of these trials it was found that almost the whole area was free of trypanosomyaisis and suitable for stock raising, and the small areas of 'fly' infestation were defined.

§ 6. *Method of Settlement*

Areas for resettlement were allocated to each tribe and chieftaincy in 166 accordance with the general plan to restore the population-land balance as 621 far as possible. Movement was, in theory at least, entirely voluntary but in 648 many cases a good deal of persuasion was necessary to obtain the necessary number of villages. Most villages naturally preferred that their neighbour should move and that they should take over the vacated land rather than go to the trouble of moving. District Officers and Agricultural Officers held preliminary discussions with the people and the question of the villages to move into the resettlement areas was settled with the co-operation of the Native Authorities. Population counts of these villages were made, usually by District Officers.

Headmen and other representatives of the villagers who had finally [622] elected to move then toured the area allocated to them and selected sites for the new villages. The headmen and the villagers almost invariably arranged this matter among themselves without any difficulty whatsoever. The selected sites were then marked on the Vegetation-Soil Map. Blocks of land having an estimated carrying capacity approximating to the total [311] villages population, allowing for temporary absentees, were demarcated around the selected sites, using roads, streams, hills and cut or blazed lines as boundaries. Estimates of land carrying capacity were, of course, based on the traditional agriculture of the people concerned. This allocation of land areas for individual villages proved universally popular; the people [423] are jealous of their boundaries and, apparently, willing to maintain them. They have usually built permanent stone beacons, to replace temporary timber structures, where the boundaries are not clearly defined by natural features.

This general method of controlled settlement was not individually applied or always possible. The great escarpment area of the Eastern Province, 166 648

L M 166 648 The great escarpment area of the Eastern Province, much of it inaccessible and uninhabitable, except for small pockets of fertile soil, was opened to unrestricted settlement by the Ambo and Senga-Kunda peoples. Other areas of poor soils and low carrying capacities in Fort Jameson District were also opened to free settlement up to a population total determined by the carrying capacity.

L [731] In Ndola District an area was opened to immediate uncontrolled settlement, in order to relieve acute land shortage and actual starvation in one section of the Reserve.

L M [312] [361] [632] A somewhat modified method has been used in parts of Petauke District where dams are the only means of providing water. Here the population unit consists of three or four villages grouped into a 'parish' and settled about the watering points. A single land area is demarcated for each of these groups, instead of allocating a separate block to each village. This method allows of economy in the distribution of watering points, tends to reduce the effect of inter-village movements and, it is hoped, will lead to larger administrative units.

§ 7. *Agricultural Control and Improvement*

N 161 [311] The general object of resettlement is to re-establish a population-land balance on the basis of traditional land usage *and the present population numbers*. Obviously, this balance cannot be permanent if the population is increasing; and if it is not increasing something is seriously wrong. Reliable vital statistics are entirely lacking but probably most of the tribes are increasing (the Ngoni may be an exception) at a rate which, judging by the very few available data, may be about 1½ per cent per annum, a rate which would double the population in forty-six years.

N 242 654 648 Resettlement is not, and was never regarded as, a substitute for agricultural improvement. The objects are to reduce the agricultural problem to practicable proportions, to relieve acute land shortage, to give time for experiment and the introduction of new methods. The assumption is that an evolutionary process of agricultural improvement will keep pace with natural increase of population, and that this process must be guided by experiment.

N [177] Simple measures of agricultural control, and the beginnings of soil conservation and agricultural improvement, have been introduced in each of the resettlement areas as a condition of occupation. It need hardly be said that these are not popular with the majority and the existence of such conditions is a deterrent to movement.

M N 648 242 [185] [241] In the case of the earlier settlements in the Fort Jameson District an elementary system of soil conservation was introduced by demarcating the land for cultivation in contour strips separated by untouched belts of grass (which acquired the name of 'ten-yardis' since the original strips were ten paces wide). This was followed by an attempt to replace the traditional mound system of Ngoni, Chewa and Senga by cultivation on ridges approximately on the contour and parallel to demarcated 'marker' M ridges on the true contour. A system of contour cultivation has now been N developed which is proving practical and effective. The 'marker' ridges are 648 242 demarcated at a vertical interval of two feet six inches and are gradually [241] converted by the people into more or less broad-based banks. In the first year the ridge is built up to a base width of six feet and a height of not less than six inches. The base and height are increased until a permanent bank eight feet wide at the base and eighteen inches in height is completed. Villages on the 'ten yardi' system can change over to contour cultivation M if the majority of people elect to do so. New villages are allowed to move N into resettlement areas in the Eastern Province only on condition that they [166] agree to practice contour cultivation; they are given four or five years to adapt themselves to the new system but in many cases practically the whole of the new gardens are under ridges by the end of the second year. Cultivation practice has been adapted to the new system and, meanwhile, experiments are being made to find the best methods of ridging, spacing and planting of crops for use in conjunctions with the ridge cultivation system.

L In the Ndola District gardens are laid off between contour grass strips 242 at vertical intervals of two feet. The people are then encouraged to convert 648 the grass strip into three parallel ridges approximating to the normal dimension of their mounds for subsidiary crops and to plant the ridges with beans and cowpeas; or to make one or two such ridges and plant the remainder of the strip with groundnuts on the flat—a combination of contour ridges and strip cropping. This method, an adaptation of normal Lamba practice was adopted after a series of trials to find the simplest method of erosion control acceptable to these somewhat backward people. The object is not only to check erosion but to restore the cultivation of subsidiary crops, now almost entirely neglected. The planting of the ridges to beans and cowpeas and the strips to groundnuts restores the balance between cereals and L legumes and should allow of a small surplus for sale. The idea seems to be less [177] unpopular than one might expect and most villages have made a satisfactory effort to convert the strips into ridges for the cultivation of subsidiary crops.

Contours are laid off by trained African Assistants of the Department of Agriculture, using road tracers, and it has been found necessary during the initial stages of settlement to have one or two African Assistants* for at least every ten villages or, approximately, for every 600 to 1,000 people. Constant supervision is maintained during the initial phase by the African Agricultural Assistants in co-operation with District Messengers and the Native Authorities. This supervision is irksome and resented by L some of the older people but it is, perhaps, significant that at a recent [177] meeting of the African Regional Council of the Western Province after the subject had been freely debated, the council voted by a large majority for an increase in the number of Agricultural Capitaos. N

Fruit tree planting has also been introduced and in the Eastern and Western 245 Provinces laws made by the Native Authorities require each household 648 671

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* Usually one and a learner assistant at Ndola.

648 to plant a small number of trees (four per hut is the general rule). Seeds,
245 seedlings and cuttings of mango, mulberry, lemon, guava, pawpaw and
671 banana are distributed free from Departmental and Native Authority
nurseries. The trees are planted within or about the sites of the new villages
and the people are on the whole willing enough to plant them but show little
[177] inclination to care for them once they have been planted. Losses from
drought and damage from fowls and small stocks are fairly heavy and in
the Western Province two severe winters in succession have frosted off a
[132] number of young plantations. It is still uncertain whether this attempt to
establish village orchards will be successful.

The only other general restrictions on land use are the prohibition of
311 cultivation within demarcated areas and of late burning of grass and bush.
648 In all village blocks non-cultivation areas have been demarcated for the pre-
185 servation of streamsides and steep slopes. Areas have also been demarcated
as Forest Reserves for future timber supplies and for the protection of watersheds, and in some cases land which is not required for present use has
been reserved against the future needs of a growing population. Late burning
[622] of grass and bush is prohibited and the responsibility for early burning
of the village blocks is placed upon the headman concerned. These prohibitions are enforced by Native Authority Rules.

§ 8. *Housing*

In most of the resettlement areas an attempt has been made to improve
648 the standard of housing and the layout of villages and on the whole this
361 has been fairly successful. When the permanent site has been selected
362 (sometimes a lengthy business involving consultation with the ancestral
spirits) the lay-out of the village is planned and the situation of each building marked out by an African Assistant. The people are persuaded to adopt a somewhat higher standard of building, but no compulsion is used and they have generally been willing enough to do so if the standard expected is not too high. The standard of housing and village lay-out is certainly an improvement, if not a very great one, on the standard within the Reserves.

In the Western Province a number of model villages have been built
[342] of Kimberley brick. These were built by the villagers themselves, with the
assistance of a small team of skilled builders and thatchers employed by the Administration. The object was to stimulate a desire for better housing and it seems to have done so in some degree since most of the other villages have now volunteered to become 'models'.

§ 9. *Assisted Movements*

166 The movement of a village for a comparatively short distance, a day's
648 journey of fifteen miles or so does not present any particular difficulty
and the African has long been used to such movements. If it is impossible

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If it is impossible

to clear large enough gardens at the new site in the first year a part of the old gardens can be used, for it is easy to travel back and forward between the old and new villages. The majority of the moves were of this order and no assistance was required or given. In the case of longer moves, heavy household goods and food stocks were transported by motor lorry, or in some instances when it was convenient to do so the entire grain stock was bought at the old village and food, purchased locally, was sold at the new site. This enabled the people to give the whole of their time to preparing a large garden acreage in the first year. The great majority of villages moving for moderate or long distances (twenty five to seventy miles) succeeded in preparing large enough gardens and growing sufficient food for themselves in the first year. A few did not, for one reason or another, such as starting too late, a bad season or just plain laziness, and these villages were supplied with food in the first season either in return for work or on promise of repayment after a good harvest. Less than 5 per cent of villages received such relief.

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§ 10. *The Progress of Resettlement*

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It was estimated that, in order to restore a complete population-land balance, about 141,300 people would have to be moved from the Reserves of the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts. No such movement was, in fact, possible. The total carrying capacity of the land available for resettlement which contained a vast mass of escarpment hills and other large areas of almost useless land, was estimated to be 78,000 people. This land was, of necessity, allocated to the tribal groups in the following way:

Ngoni and Chewa	:	Sufficient	land	for	35,000	people
Senga	:	"	"	"	35,000	"
Ambo	:	"	"	"	8,000	"

Thus in the case of the Ngoni and Chewa the available land was totally insufficient to allow of the restoration of a population-land balance, while in the case of the other peoples such a balance could be achieved.

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Two alternatives were possible; to re-distribute the Ngoni and Chewa populations more or less evenly over the new land and the Reserves, in which case both would be over-populated in relation to their carrying capacities, or to populate the new land to the maximum of its carrying capacity, leaving the Reserves still over-populated. The latter course was adopted for a variety of reasons, including the fact that much of the new land was tsetse infested and the keeping of cattle and development of mixed farming would not be possible at least for a very considerable time. The Reserves, on the other hand, carried many cattle and, with reduction of the population by resettlement, would be able to support their populations on a basis of mixed farming.

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Movement was therefore designed to populate the new areas to the maximum of their carrying capacity and to reduce the agricultural problem

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of the Reserves to manageable proportions, leaving an excess of population, but not too great an excess, within the cattle areas.

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In Petauke District, where there is ample land available, the object aimed at is a complete restoration of the population-land balance by controlled movement of some 35,000 Senga and uncontrolled movement of 8,000 Ambo and Senga-Kunda.

L M N 166 648

Survey work in the Eastern Province started in 1941 and a few pioneer villages were moved in that year, but the main movement started in 1942 (when over 18,000 people were moved) and it is still in progress. By the end of 1945 the programme was more than half completed; 292 villages (about 32,000 people) had been moved into controlled 'village blocks' or 'pariah settlements' in addition to uncontrolled or partially controlled movements in the escarpment area and parts of the Fort Jameson District. The comparatively slow rate of progress is due to water-shortage. Large areas in Petauke District and the north of Fort Jameson have not yet been settled for this reason, while in the latter area there is also some danger of sleeping sickness, and measures for the control of 'fly' (game destruction and clearing of 'hard pan') are in progress. Settlement is continuing at the rate set by provision of water supplies and the control of tsetse.

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The Mkushi District presents an entirely different picture since the available land is about twice as much as the present population require, on the basis of their traditional agricultural practice. Here, instead of village blocks, comparatively large areas have been demarcated to take a number of villages and there is no strict control. The Superior Native Authority has introduced rules intended to bring about a gradual conversion from small circle *chitemene* (a primitive form of axe-agriculture) to hoe cultivation of kaffir corn with subsidiary gardens for a variety of crops.

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The land not actually required for immediate use has not been allocated but is being held in reserve against the future needs of the African people and the Native Authorities undertake responsibility for early burning within the reserved land.

The bulk of the necessary population transfers have already been carried out.

In Ndola District also the available land is considerably greater than present needs and some is being held in reserve. Populations moved from the congested zone about the mines have been settled in village blocks and, apart from an area demarcated for immediate settlement in 1943 to relieve actual starvation, there is no uncontrolled settlement.

Movement of 120 villages, having a total estimated population of 11,775, was completed in 1945. It has since been found, however, that the population counts made by a District Officer seconded for the purpose are in fact over-estimated and a considerable number of the blocks are under-populated and further movements may be necessary.

M 175 Livingstone found chief Mwase, at Kasungu, ruling over "a section of Mang'anja, called Machewa, or Macheba[1]."

M 175 648 [241] [167] For some years the Achewa enjoyed a peaceful existence in their new home, keeping cattle, but living mainly by agriculture, until their tranquility was disturbed by the Ngoni invasion and by the slave raids of the Jumbe[2] at Kota Kota. By these the eastern branch of Achewa was continually harassed; and consequently in 1893 Dzoole, Kanyenda and others of the house of Karonga moved south to the Kasangadzi and Mtiti Rivers, and in 1896 handed over this part of the country to the protection of the British Government.

N 175 101 N 174 The Angoni, under the name of Mazitu, were described by Livingstone as Zulus,[3] and this terminological error has been copied by more than one subsequent writer. Of their earlier wanderings no record has been traced. Owing, perhaps, to their lighter colour it has been surmised that they came from far up the east coast; but it is known that under the style of Abe-nguni, derived from an ancient chief Mnguni, they were settled on the Dedesi, a small tributary of the upper St. John's River, when the Aba-mbo first arrived in Natal about 1620.[4] In this locality they remained for a couple of centuries, till towards the end of his reign the notorious Zulu king Chaka fell upon their allies the Ama-ndwandwe under Zwide. A section of the Abe-nguni then migrated northwards under Zwangendaba; and wherever they went they fought and subdued the peoples through whose country they passed, seizing cattle and incorporating captives in their own tribe. After raiding the Aba-suto, Ama-swazi, Aba-thonga[5] and Ama-kalanga, they crossed the Zambezi near Zumbo at the time of the total eclipse of the sun on the 19th of November, 1835,[6] and overran the territories of the Aba-senga, A-tumbuka, A-safwa and A-mandewere till they came to the land of the Wa-fipa and Wa-sukuma.

Here Zwangendaba (or Songandawa, as he is generally called in Nyasaland) died, and his following broke up and scattered in different directions. While others advanced to the north and east, four sections turned back, one under Mombera to the Tumbuka country, another under Mpezeni to the Loangwa river, the third under Chiwere to Dowa, and the fourth under Chikusi still further south. N 101 M N It is with the third section that we are now dealing. The hybrid nature of the Dowa Angoni can be inferred from the list of clans given in a subsequent section (IV, 2). During the last four decades they have intermarried still further with the Achewa, and there are now few, if any, pure-blooded Angoni in the district. Their paramount chief, Chiwere, though calling himself an Mngoni, is in reality an Msenga. 648

M N 171 121 The general features, characteristics and habits of these peoples are akin to those of neighbouring tribes which have been described by the Reverend Duff Macdonald,[7] Miss Alice Werner

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[1] D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, pp. 526, 548.

[2] A coast Arab, acting as *wali*, or representative, of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

[3] D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, p. 381.

[4] Eric A. Walker: *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, p. 6. J. H. Soga: *The South-Eastern Bantu*, pp. 81, *et seq.*

[5] In *ph* and *th* each consonant is pronounced. Similarly, in *ee* and *oo* each vowel is pronounced.

[6] E. H. L. Poole: *Journal African Society*, vol. xxix, No. cxv, p. 290.

[7] Rev. Duff Macdonald, *Africana*. Miss Alice Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*. Dr. H. S. Stannus, *The Wayao of Nyasaland*, Harvard African Studies III, *Varia Africana* III, pp. 229-372, "Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, vol. xl. 1910, pp. 285-335, etc., etc.

212 The Fort Jameson Ngoni[3] are at this stage of transition. Many men and
some women can read, if not write, and we can no longer call the tribe non-literate.
Yet a society of this kind behaves in many ways as if it were non-literate.
In particular, information about the past is transmitted orally and
laws and customs are not committed to writing. In this paper I shall discuss
some of the ways in which this information is manipulated. I shall distinguish
121 between tales of fighting, relating to the period 1821–1898, which we may
regard as tribal legends of origin; beliefs about customary behaviour relating
to the same period; private legends which serve to explain the form of
relations between present-day groups; and lastly history proper, documents
describing contemporary events, if such exist.

181 Early travellers all speak of the various Ngoni groups as fierce warrior
tribes interested only in destruction and plunder. With the spread of European
[177] control Ngoni raids ceased. Today in villages inhabited mainly by
women and children, with scraggy animals and eroded gardens, the traveller
181 looking for signs of a military tradition sees only khaki greatcoats and battle-dress.
178 Among the Fort Jameson group, if not elsewhere, the great cowhide
shields, and the regiments which carried them, have disappeared. Yet the
battles of the past are still remembered and are called to mind in songs sung
[538] at drunken parties, in tales told to children and, importunately, to sympathetic
strangers. Many of these songs are in the old Ngoni language now
533 largely forgotten, and singers cannot give any precise meaning to the songs
182 they sing. They are the relics of the past learnt parrot-fashion and in the
context in which they are sung they do not require any specific reference.
In our own culture we do not need to know who were the April rainers
before we can sing "Green grow the rushes, O". Prose tales, however, are in
538 ordinary speech and describe military exploits of people known to the
speaker, or preparations for raiding ordered by the Paramount Chief and
carried out by his lieutenants. The most frequently recounted battle of all is
173 the fight between Ngoni and British troops in 1898. Many men and women
648 are still alive who remember the fighting or even took part in it. The
186 cataclysmic changes which followed the Ngoni defeat and the unusual
weapons used combine to make the battle memorable. It is the only admitted
defeat, for all other tales tell only of victory. The Ngoni defeated the Bemba,
Wisa, Cewā, Kunda, and so on.

175 We know from contemporary travellers' accounts that though on the
648 whole the Ngoni were successful against their neighbours, their run of successes
was not unbroken. There is evidence that on occasion even the Cewa
raided the Ngoni and took captives. We may regard the form taken by these
legends as due in part to the process found in most cultures by which victories
648 are remembered and defeats forgotten. But the distortion introduced is not
177 only the elimination of defeat. The Administration and the Missions have,

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[3] I worked among these people during 1946–49 while on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

●648 in general, encouraged co-operation between tribes and have treated all tribes
177 as equals. They have emphasized the values of peace rather than a war, and
have condemned pagan rites. In the light of this teaching legends have been
modified to conform to modern values. The barbarity of the raids has been
minimized and the good qualities of the old military discipline have been
extolled. Sometimes men say that the old armies never fought but only
danced, or that people from other tribes were not captured but all joined
the Ngoni of their own free will (as in fact some did). It is said that there
[769] was never any ancestor-worship; the names of the Paramount Chief's ancestors
were merely mentioned in prayers "as King George is mentioned
now". This process by which the Ngoni conquerors of yesterday are made
648 to look like the European conquerors of today is no new phenomenon. The
186 Ngoni identified themselves with European rather than with their matrilineal
156 neighbours even before the European conquest. Wiese, himself the main
agent of their defeat, wrote, "They are very proud, looking down on all the
other tribes with contempt, and think they show great courtesy whenever
they assure the European traveller that the Whites may be related to them."[4]

Another traveller, arriving from the south in 1896, relates how he ran
into an armed patrol on the outskirts of Ngoni country. His own carriers
ran away but he called out to the patrol that he was a friend of the Paramount
[197] Chief, speaking in Zulu. He then heard them saying, "He is an Ngoni and
a white man."[5] My own informants told me that the old Ngoni language
was closer to English than to Nyanja.

This reinterpretation of the past in the light of the present has not produced
829 a consistent picture of a proto-European society. The inconsistencies
of the present remain and are reflected in the ambivalent attitude adopted to
the past. Although in one context people recall that everything was well
ordered and peaceful in the past, in other contexts they dwell on the unlimited
power of the Paramount Chief and the fierceness of his warriors. An
aristocratic man once said to me at a beer party, "If this was the old days
183 I would kill all these Cewa drinking here." Yet the general impression which
people usually try to convey is of a disciplined, proud, and successful people.

This picture is accepted not only by Ngoni themselves but also by Europeans.
For us it is one part of the good old days when Africans still smiled
and were nature's gentlemen. Our picture of the Ngoni contains fewer concessions
to contemporary White values, for the very distinction between
Whites now and Blacks then increases the attractiveness of the picture.
Ancestor worship and polygyny are not unwelcome in a Black Arcadia.

181 Ngoni nowadays compare themselves with their European and Indian
neighbours and envy their apparent power and wealth. They seek to rationalize
186 their own relative failure in terms of their past. It is in this connection

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[4] Wiese, *Geschichte*, pp. 200 f.

[5] Later, when he had satisfactorily answered questions on Zululand geography, Mp'zeni said of him, "He is a chief . . . he is an Angoni, one of us." Deare, *Slave Raiders*, pp. 19 and 25.

181 that the defeat of 1898 is important. Although they claim to have conquered
186 all their African neighbours, Ngoni do not claim success over the British.
Instead, defeat at the hands of the British is cited in explanation of every
648 present-day failure and of every departure from traditional practice. Ngoni
186 say, "If we had not been defeated we would not have lost our land and we
would not now go hungry"; and "If we had not been defeated the tribes
would not have been mixed up and we could follow our customs properly",
[729] and so on. In the past, captives taken by the Ngoni were rapidly indoctrinated
with Ngoni ways and themselves became proud Ngoni; Ngoni complain
that now, although captured by Europeans, they never become Europeans.

538 The general legends of the past from which these notions are derived are
814 common knowledge. In the main they are passed on orally and are maintained
by the teaching of tribal history in schools, the appeals to old military
traditions, when recruiting for the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, the conversations
of planters comparing one tribe with another as labourers, by the
reports of administrators and by the writings of ethnologists.

643 The link between the Ngoni of today and their illustrious forebears is also
182 symbolized in the office of the Paramount Chief. He bears the name of his
[551] warrior great-grandfather, and the formal aspects of his relationship to his
people are explained by reference to his ancestors' achievements. He cannot
attend funerals or take part in some of his own marriage ceremonies because
"he has already conquered all others"; he cannot be expected to walk through
the bush with the District Officer because "he has already conquered the
whole world". He basks in his great-grandfather's invincibility, for in this
context the defeat of 1898 is forgotten. The relationship between the Paramount
Chief and his eleven minor chiefs is partly determined by the distribution
of power in different branches of the royal lineage before the
European conquest, and the division of the country into these minor
chiefdoms is a visible reminder of that distribution.

829 Associated with these tales of military exploits and royal power are myths
178 about former customs. Ngoni say that in the old days they used to hunt, or
marry, or build villages, in a particular way and that now they do differently.
Frequently when I asked what happened in such-and-such a situation I would
be told what my informant thought would have happened before 1898 rather
[583] than what he had seen happen now. Thus if we ask what payments do Ngoni
make in marriage we are told that there are two payments, "snuff-box" and
bridewealth, consisting of one or more beasts. Further inquiry reveals that
these payments are now made only infrequently and that the period referred
to is before 1898. More detailed investigation suggests that in many pre-1898
marriages they were not made and that when they were made they did not
always consist of beasts. Ngoni do not deny these facts but they do deny their
relevance. To them the distinctively Ngoni way of marrying is with these
two payments, and it is this process alone which merits the vernacular
adjective—*cingoni*. They regret that people no longer marry in this way and

829 blame the Europeans for it; but it remains part of the distinctive cultural
178 heritage of the tribe.

As we might expect, notions of this kind do not provide sanctioned
182 standards of conduct nor ideal patterns towards which Ngoni strive. They
may be used to explain or justify a state of affairs, as we have seen, but they
do not directly determine action. An individual who departs from traditional
custom, in these terms, is not necessarily censured. Indeed, men who are
[591] knowledgeable about the glorious past do not follow traditional ways any
more than do less-well-informed people. According to tradition the Ngoni
are a virilocal people, yet if a man goes to live with his wife's relatives his own
kinsfolk cannot force him to return by appeal to this virilocal tradition.
[606] Traditionally a man avoids his mother-in-law. Yet I once saw an aristocratic
man, a great authority on traditional history, on leave from work sitting on
a verandah chatting with his mother-in-law. I said to him, "I thought a man
should avoid his mother-in-law." He laughed and replied, "Yes, so he
should. This behaviour is disgusting, and as soon as I come to live here
permanently I shall see that customs are properly followed."

647 In certain situations the Fort Jameson Ngoni appear as a tribe in contrast
to other tribes. The tribe is an administrative unit, with its own chiefs, its
619 own area and sometimes its own District Officer. Representatives from each
tribe in the region sit together to form the Native Urban Court and the
Provincial Advisory Council. The Ngoni representatives on these bodies
693 tend to present distinctively Ngoni views to contrast with the views of their
184 colleagues. Thus there may be a discussion on wills. There is an Ngoni view,
● 648 a Cewa view, and so on. The Ngoni representative repeats the old story
182 about bridewealth, virilocal residence, the rights of the eldest son, and these
are recorded as being the Ngoni custom in the matter. Even when discussing
such an apparently modern issue as wills, the tendency is to go back to this
mythical past. It is in terms of this past, in reality as well as in myth, that
Ngoni are different from their neighbours. In the present, as contrasted with
Europeans, Ngoni and Cewa are much the same. Ngoni pay bridewealth in
the same way as the English eat roast beef. It is a national characteristic, but
183 one located in the minds of men rather than observable in their actions or
their aspirations. Instead of the scarifications and totemic observances which
distinguish their neighbours, Ngoni express their tribal identity by having
distinctive customs which, conveniently, need not be followed.

183 In the Native Urban Court a similar process appears to operate, but here,
unlike at the Advisory Council, there is a greater need to come to grips with
692 real situations which require action, and tribal distinctiveness is tempered
184 with practical reality. In the purely Ngoni Native Courts appeals are made
to traditional practice in a different way. The courts are required by the
671 Administration to follow tribal custom and people know that the courts are
bound in this way. In fact, however, the courts have continually to deal with
692 new situations and to make decisions which are unprecedented. This is done
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Stated very briefly, the problem is this: an Ngoni aristocratic minority 121
created an Ngoni 'state' of mixed ethnic units, imposed a national [642]
identity on all who formed part of it, and inspired a real 'national [641]
feeling' among those who were assimilated. In this article I propose
to look at this problem as it exists to-day in the light of white contact,
and more particularly as a prelude to Indirect Rule. My thesis is that N
Ngoni 'national feeling' is based on the traditions of their past—on [186]
the story of their southern origin, their trek from the south, and their
settlement in their present areas. I shall show how the continued N
preservation of their distinctive institutions, together with their strong [178]
historical sense, gave them a dominant position in the country, which
was enforced through their military and political supremacy. This N
supremacy was first challenged and then overthrown by the arrival of [721]
the Europeans and the defeat of the Ngoni military power. The situation [648]
thus created is the key to the Ngoni attitude towards white
contact to-day.

The plan of work which I adopted at the beginning had as its aim
the establishing of certain essential data—namely, to determine the
principles of local or territorial settlement in relation to the political N
organization and the ethnic constitution of the area. This involved 126
making maps of the Paramount Chief's 'country' and of the 'countries' [631]
of his subordinate chiefs, showing the areas over which individuals
exercised authority and their relation to those above and below
them in the political hierarchy. It also involved making a number of
village plans, showing the alignment of houses on the village site,
the names and clans of the inhabitants and their mutual relations in N
terms of kinship groups and village organization.[1] In villages called M
Ngoni villages, that is, where the 'owner' of the village was of a 101 [621]
recognized Ngoni clan and where there was a nucleus of Ngoni clansmen, [614]
the individuals in Ngoni clans numbered from 25–75 per cent.
of the total inhabitants, the average being about 45 per cent. In a N
number of the villages where no Ngoni clans were represented, the M [641]
villagers nevertheless asserted, 'We are Ngoni, because we are the

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[1] This collecting of village plans was viewed with some suspicion at first as a N
new way of helping the Government to catch tax defaulters. However, when I M
promised the Paramount Chief that no one in the locality should see the village 123
plans, he sent out word that I was to be given all the information I needed, and no
one need fear the consequences.

178 it might almost be called nation-building. And when you have heard
829 the Ngoni Paramount discuss the position of minorities in his country,
and his claim to territories no longer under his rule, you could almost
imagine you were in the corridors of the League Secretariat at Geneva.

The Ngoni state, however, to-day is not only a political structure,
a framework for political and social life. Within that structure, forming
[183] parts of it, are institutions embodying those social, political,
economic, and ethical values which are peculiarly Ngoni. The Ngoni,
that is to say, when they absorbed other peoples into their state,
[177] imposed upon them a new social order together with the values inherent
in that order. Patrilineal succession and inheritance, for
example, introduced by the Ngoni, was bound up with the relations
of father to son, the acquiring and distribution of cattle, the worship
[182] of clan and family ancestors. Each institution had its clearly related
rules and values, and these are made explicit by the Ngoni when they describe them. The casual European observer in the country sees only the Paramount Chief and his subordinate chiefs ruling over a welter of tribes with a confusing mixture of social behaviour. To the Ngoni, however, and to the anthropologist who follows their lead, the pattern of society which they set up is clear and definite; it has a cultural reality of its own. The seeming welter of tribes is in reality an ordered relationship. Each group, tribe, or clan, has its recognized place *vis-à-vis* other groups. Within that ordered relationship the different groups have pursued a process of preserving some customs and adopting others, and they can give a coherent account of what they have retained and what they have borrowed. The real Ngoni do not admit to borrowing much. They like to think of their society as very distinctive as well as being well integrated. Yet the degree of modification in Ngoni society needs very close investigation because it shows much variety in different localities.

121 When they entered their present areas the Ngoni were very inferior
● 648 in numbers to the indigenous people. How was it then that they were
[161] able to subdue them? And having subdued them, how did they pre-

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[304] mark' of the Ngoni as various forms of tattooing were of other tribes. Ear-piercing
was sometimes forced (i.e. upon captives taken in war), sometimes voluntary.
186 To-day children of local clans are teased by children of Ngoni clans and called
'Chewa' if they have not had their ears pierced, and they beg their mothers to
take them to the 'doctor' to be 'made Ngoni'.

serve their own culture, so that they were not submerged in the very 121
different cultures round them? The Ngoni themselves give the answer 648
to this first question, saying, 'We fought with spears and shields;
those others had only bows and arrows and sometimes guns.'[1] The 411
making of these shields, which formerly gave courage and protection 181
to the warriors, is to this day almost a ritual. To watch a chief working
at one on the threshold of his hut, or a village headman and his friends
cutting and shaping one in the kraal, is to realize the value put on them
by the Ngoni. They refuse to make them for sale as curiosities, and
several Europeans have told me that they have tried in vain to get one.

Having conquered by the shield and spear, the Ngoni maintained 563
their prestige by their highly developed political organization. All
around them were small chieftains owning a few villages with no
integration in any large political unit.[2] The Ngoni state was focussed
in the *inkosi*, the Paramount Chief, who was at once the 'owner'[3] of [643]
the land, the 'head'[3] of the state, and the 'father'[3] of his people.
The Ngoni, as we have seen, are always ready to indicate those institu- 101
tions and related traditions which mark them off from the surrounding 619
tribes, and which give their state a cultural reality of its own. They 186
point first to their language and their traditions of Dingiswayo, Zwidi,
and Chaka as proving their southern origin. Other neighbouring [173]
peoples have vague traditions of wandering from north to south, or
west to east, but the Ngoni know exactly where they came from and
by what route. Their language is almost identical with old Zulu. [197]
I was told by many Europeans that it hardly existed any longer, and
I was therefore surprised to find to what an extent it is still spoken
and used. Most of the true Ngoni to-day are bilingual[4]; with the ex- [191]
ception of a few very old Ngoni people, everyone to-day speaks
one of the local vernaculars, Nsenga, Tumbuka, or Chewa.[5] Ngoni
is the language of the aristocrats, and a large proportion of the true

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[1] The kind of antique guns traded to the Chewa by the Portuguese and Arabs were no match for the Ngoni skill with the long throwing-spear or the short stabbing-assegai, and the bullets were such that the stout cow-hide shields of the Ngoni could withstand them. Hence the consternation of the Ngoni when the machine-gun bullets of the British troops pierced their shields in the Ngoni 'war'.

[2] With the possible exception of Chikuramayembe, Chief of the Henga.

[3] Translations of vernacular terms.

[4] Or trilingual if they know English too.

[5] The same as Nyanja.

N
returned between the years 1855–1865, to settle in their present 173
habitat. The earlier part of the period was one of exploring and of 167
conquest. The later part was the time of settlement and consolidation,
during which the Ngoni 'states' emerged in the form in which they
were found, when the Europeans first arrived.

N
The Ngoni in Mpezeni's country, when speaking of this time, call it 173
chamtendere (the time of peace). Any white travellers' tales referring 829
to these years lay stress on the constant raids carried out by the Ngoni, [721]
the fierceness of their warriors, and their ravaging of the countryside
for slaves and cattle. It was obviously a time of frequent wars. Why
then do the Ngoni call it a time of peace? I have asked this question
of many men of rank and standing and they give one invariable reply,
'We call it *chamtendere* because the *Azungu* (Europeans) were not N
there to trouble us'. This statement is in effect the key to Ngoni [186]
thinking about the days of pre-white contact, and also about the
advent of the Europeans. The way in which they speak of *chamtendere*
is itself significant. I first heard it during a long recital of Ngoni
history, and stopped the narrator to ask the meaning of the word.
There was instantly an embarrassed silence and self-conscious grins in
the group. The word had evidently slipped out unawares, for later on
they told me that it was a word they only used among themselves.
Having once been used, however, it appeared frequently in conversations
with me, and proved a useful starting-point for accounts of the
organization of their own state and the effects on it of the European
advent. 'Ah, *chamtendere*', they say, with a deep sigh, 'then we were N
people'. It proved also to be a pass-word to their confidence, for whenever [123]
I mentioned *chamtendere* to a village headman, he and his notables
nudged each other, and laughed and said, 'She can know about us'.
When pressed to be more specific about this 'troubling' by the N
Azungu they spoke of taxes, of the ban upon raiding and warfare, of [648]
young men being called away to work, of their land being taken for
European farms. These restrictions and disabilities caused by white
contact they regarded as warfare, that is, as troubled times, because M
the Europeans forcibly prevented them from doing as they liked, just [173]
as they had done in their day to the surrounding tribes. The conquered [829]
tribes, on the other hand, naturally hailed the advent of the [184]
Europeans as a time of peace and security. Therein lies the chief

N
M difference to-day between the attitude of the Ngoni to the Europeans
173 and that of the Chewa, for example. In the vernacular expression the
829 Ngoni say, 'The Europeans spoiled our country'; the Chewa say,
184 'The Europeans saved us'.

N *Chamtendere*, then, was the period of Ngoni supremacy, when they
173 established by force of arms their right to rule over the country and
178 its indigenous inhabitants. There was, however, some difference
642 between the political organization of the Ngoni as a conquering horde on the march, and their organization when they finally settled in their present areas. At both times the focus of their organization was warfare—they were a nation under arms. But once settled on land which they had chosen they began to spread a network of political organization over the country, and to plan in terms of 'countries'[1] instead of mobile villages. To-day when they discuss the advent of the Europeans and the consequent 'spoiling' of their country, they recall the days when extensive tribute was paid to their Paramount Chief, chiefs were free to choose good sites for their very big villages, the
N outlying areas were ruled by *indunas* and lesser chiefs. It was the
● [648] partial breaking up of this centralized political organization which
[829] they regarded as 'spoiling their country', as well as the economic restrictions with regard to land and the prohibition of raiding for new supplies of cattle.

N During this time of Ngoni supremacy Ngoni institutions flourished
173 —those institutions which they had brought with them from the
178 south and preserved through their wanderings. When they are telling
829 to-day about these years they speak fervently and reverently of the
643 part played by the Paramount Chief in every side of life, the training
796 for warfare of all the young men, the instruction and supervision of young chiefs by old *indunas*, Ngoni marriage and initiation ceremonies. It was during this time in Mpezeni's country that the *Inqwala* or first fruits ceremony was regularly observed at Mtenguleni, the village of the mother of old Mpezeni.[2] At this ceremony the Paramount Chief 'opened' the new food season by the ritual eating of new fruits, especially young maize and pumpkins. It was also the

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[1] i.e. chiefs' areas.

[2] The description of this *Inqwala* given by men and women who took part in it in their youth shows much similarity to the *Inqwala* of to-day among the Swazi.

conquer the Germans as they conquered us.' The Ngoni are by no 186
means unaware of white political antagonism and questioned me closely 726
about present day relations between English and Germans, and between
English and Dutch in South Africa. Though they have seen from their
own observation that modern warfare as practised by Europeans is
entirely different from warfare as they knew it, they are nevertheless
interested in war to-day as an 'instrument of national policy'.

It is from this angle that the Ngoni in Mpezeni's country regard 173
the 'war' between them and the British in 1898. It was a trial of 721
strength; they were defeated by superior power.[1] When the Ngoni 726
tell the story of this war they make it clear that just as they had
defeated the other tribes with their superior weapons, so it was British [713]
superiority in weapons which won the day, because their machine-guns
were used with deadly force on the Ngoni warriors. The version
of the fighting current in the villages was told me many times, always
with a note of awe and horror at the unexpected and overwhelming
catastrophe. When the British punitive force camped outside Mpezeni's
kraal, the Ngoni war *induna* sent to ask if they were ready to
fight. The reply was, 'Wait, the *Azungu* are eating'. Another later
messenger brought back word that the *Azungu* had finished breakfast
and were ready, and the companies sallied out, and the machine-guns
were arranged facing the kraal exit. Then the Ngoni warriors sprang
out, holding their shields before them, and were met by a hail of fire
from the machine-guns. To their horror they found their invincible
shields were no longer a protection. Many fell, the rest fled, and the [727]
huge village[2] was looted and burned. 'The *Azungu* war was too
strong', is the way they invariably end this often repeated tale.

Overwhelming though this military catastrophe was, to the Ngoni 173
it is the events preceding and following the 'war' on which they
dwell, when in the villages they speak of this period of white contact. [186]
'We are not ashamed for the war', they say, 'We are ashamed for
losing our cattle and our land'. They tell to this day how a certain [648]
Carl Weise, a German, came up from Portuguese East Africa trading,[3] [423]

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[1] In the Report of Justice Maughan on the North Charterland Inquiry he says, 'It was a remarkably well-managed little war and the Ngoni accepted their defeat in good spirit like other Bantu races'. [361]

[2] Over 3 miles across.

[3] in 1885.

173 made friends with old Mpezeni and finally made Luangeni, Mpezeni's
648 head village, his head-quarters. He obtained mining rights in the land
[423] from Mpezeni, by word of mouth, but Mpezeni signed no deed of
gift or transfer. This legal point which subsequently became one of
the major points at issue in the North Charterland Company case has
been emphasized again and again to me in the villages. 'Mpezeni
was writing nothing. He was only giving presents to Weise, and
[431] Weise gave presents to him, and Mpezeni was saying, "You may
travel in my country and dig for gold. You are my friend."' They
add further, 'Mpezeni did not want to make friends with the British
[648] because he had heard from the Matabele and from Nyasaland what
they were doing. Weise said "I am not from the British", and so
Mpezeni was making promises with him.' So deeply is this tradition
of friendship between Mpezeni and Weise, with its consequences of
betrayal and disaster, embedded in the Ngoni thinking, that when I
stayed in the Paramount Chief's village and exchanged presents with
[123] him, many old people shook their heads and warned the young people,
'The *Azungu* war will come again. This is how that other war was
beginning.'

Weise failed to establish his claim to mining rights in Mpezeni's
175 territory with Sir Harry Johnston, then Commissioner for all British
648 territories north of the Zambezi. Meantime the British South Africa
Company obtained a new charter to extend its field north of the
Zambezi, and sent an emissary to Mpezeni's kraal to make a treaty
with him. Mpezeni refused. He also refused Sir Harry Johnston's
emissary who met Weise at Mpezeni's kraal with a view to getting
Mpezeni to make a treaty direct with the British Crown. The mining
rights in Mpezeni's country were potentially valuable, and on Mpezeni's
refusal to grant them were claimed by the British South Africa
Company[1] on the ground of treaties made with the conquered Chewa
people, whom Mpezeni had dispossessed.[2] Weise was at this time at
Mpezeni's with one or two Portuguese traders and officials, making
hay while the sun shone.

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[1] 'Finding Mpezeni obdurate the British South Africa Company concluded treaties with all the surrounding indigenous chiefs whom Mpezeni had dispossessed. We consequently declined to acknowledge him as ruling chief.'

[2] F.O. 6537.

In 1895 the North Charterland Company was formed, distinct from 175
and yet allied with the British South Africa Company,[1] with mining 648
and trading rights over 10,000 square miles, most of which lay in Mpezeni's territory. The legal right to this concession was based on the British South Africa Company's treaties with 'dispossessed chiefs'. At the same time the North Charterland Company recognized that Mpezeni still held the effective sovereignty over the area, and that the success and safety of any mining or trading expedition sent to the territory depended on good relations being established with Mpezeni. They therefore persuaded Weise to join their staff in order to get Mpezeni's consent to the venture. They gained a foothold and did some prospecting, and then tried to impose a hut tax, and to exercise administrative powers through their own uniformed police of the Tonga tribe from Lake Nyasa—a tribe despised by the Ngoni. Two memoranda by Sir Harry Johnston to the Foreign Office set out the chain of events which led to the use of armed force against Mpezeni in January 1898, the pretext being the alleged danger of two white men in his country. Sir Harry Johnston wrote, 'Mpezeni is a very powerful Zulu chief and intimately allied with the Matabele. He offers no great objection to mining for gold but shows the greatest dislike to any interference with his independence or governing powers. The latter is the cause of his quarrel with Colonel Warton on the matter of a British flag and taxation.' He concludes the second memorandum with the remarks, 'Mpezeni is an intrusive Zulu robber who must sooner or later be dethroned and subdued. He is very powerful and is the only avowedly recalcitrant chief in all British Central Africa. When his hour comes he can be dealt with by the present Protectorate forces.' Following the last memoranda on the situation in Mpezeni's country the Foreign Office wrote to the British South Africa Company in April 1897, 'Lord Salisbury gathers that the North Charterland Company have maintained friendly relations with Mpezeni by withholding from his knowledge their connexion with the British South Africa Company and their British nationality. It is stated that the representative of the North Charterland Company has passed himself off to Mpezeni as brother to Weise.' 648

Lord Salisbury was well informed. When the Ngoni tell this story 814

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[1] See North Charterland Inquiry.

648 814 in the villages to-day, they do it by going over and over the events of those fateful years 1885–1898, from the first arrival of Weise up to the Ngoni war, in the vain hope of finding a satisfactory explanation of the connexion between Weise, the British South Africa Company, the North Charterland Company, and the British Crown. They give correct and precise details of the various Europeans who came to old Mpezeni's kraal seeking concessions, and finding the old chief adamant about signing away any concessions. 'Weise was his friend. Then came Weise's brother. He began to take money for our huts. Then Singu (Mpezeni's heir) became angry. Then they said, "We are Charterland" and Mpezeni refused: "I have given no promise to Charterland." Then came the *Azungu* war.'

I have given the foregoing events in detail because they are facts [609] of history both to the Ngoni and the British, and necessary for understanding the present attitude of the Ngoni to white people. The Ngoni have given me their version again and again, always the same in substance, and always with the same emphasis, first on the refusal of Sir Harry Johnston and the British South Africa Company to recognize Mpezeni as the rightful chief in the land, and secondly on the treachery of Weise which delivered them into the hands of the North Charterland Company. Nor was the defeat in war their final 175 humiliation. Singu, Mpezeni's heir, was taken and shot together with 648 his wives; half the cattle of the Ngoni were taken as 'rightful loot'; [727] and the North Charterland Company began assigning farms to Europeans in their tract. Six years later old Mpezeni died, leaving his grandson, a comparatively young boy, as his successor. On the old *indunas* and other sons of old Mpezeni fell the burden of guiding the young *inkosi* and carrying on the political and legal machinery subject to European administration.[1] At the same time fundamental economic 178 changes were taking place. Settlers were arriving to acquire land and [648] demand labour. The country was gradually parcelled out into European farms and native reserves, not without prolonged ill-feeling on [464] both sides.[2] With the opportunity to work for wages came a demand [167] for taxes to cover the costs of administration, and this demand in its turn made many men go out of the territory in search of better paid work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union.

[1] Under British South Africa Company till 1924.

[2] See North Charterland Inquiry.

N

work in Southern Rhodesia and the Union. This exodus to the south in 178
its turn brought the Ngoni into touch once more with the Matabele, 177
the Zulu, and the Swazi, and reawakened their consciousness of their 186
southern origin. It is significant that just at the point when their
power in their own country received a crushing blow, they came into
contact once more in the south with the stock from which they had
sprung and to whom they could still speak in their own language.
The anthropologist who looks for the reason why the distinctive
Ngoni culture did not die out entirely after their military defeat and
the advent of the whites, can see at least part of the reason supplied
by the results of this economic exodus to work in the south. When the
other tribes in the neighbourhood were, in the Ngoni phrase, 'running
always to the Boma' and incidentally picking up fragments of European
customs, the Ngoni remained, according to their own account,
to a great extent aloof and were strengthened in this aloofness by their
renewed southern connexions. N

Ngoni supremacy over the country was at an end. The Europeans M
were the overlords of all the tribes, not the Ngoni. Instead of one 178
big chief in the country, many small ones were now recognized who 563
dared to give themselves airs because they knew the Ngoni could not 648 ●
compel allegiance to their Paramount. Chewa people living under
Ngoni chiefs could no longer be forced to stay there, therefore a
different attitude towards them was necessary. 'Chewa' could no
longer be synonymous with 'slave'. I have heard Ngoni chiefs in
court address their *indunas* and headmen many times on behaving well
to people of other tribes 'Or they will leave us and to-day we cannot N
make them return'. A recent case in which a young chief, but a very M
important one, was summoned to the Paramount's court for insulting [689]
a Chewa woman, was made the occasion by the Paramount for a long
public discourse on the present relations between Ngoni and Chewa,
pointing out that an Ngoni chief whose Chewa subjects left him would
'spoil his country' and 'all his people would be ashamed'. Ngoni
prestige, in fact, having lost the support of military power, had to N
rely on other sanctions. In their own eyes, their prestige was still due [829]
to their southern origin, their success in creating the Ngoni state in
an alien milieu, and those distinctive institutions which they had N M
retained. To the surrounding people, to the Chewa and other tribes, [692]

M Ngoni prestige depended partly on the very effective justice meted
178 out in the courts,[1] and also on the unquestioning allegiance of all
563 subordinate authorities to the Paramount Chief. A Chewa Paramount
●648 Chief told me that he envied the power and prestige of the Ngoni
[692] Paramount, ' because all his chiefs obey him ', and there is undoubtedly
[643] a widespread admiration among the less united local tribes for the
centralized political organization of Ngoni, and the fact that they can
hold a large area and many people together as an effective unit.

N The Ngoni, therefore, in the course of the last thirty-five years have
178 to a large extent made the adjustments necessary to their changed
186 relations with the local peoples. They have accepted the new situation
de facto, though they do not necessarily acquiesce in heart. They still
think they are due a unique position among the tribes, and for this
reason they dwell continually on the glories of *chamtendere*. Nor does
the adoption of some measure of European ways reconcile them to a
different attitude. Even educated Ngoni teachers and ministers have
said to me with deep regret, ' We are ashamed because we are being
ignored to-day by other tribes '.

N Their attitude towards Europeans is also partly based on the Euro-
648 pean failure to accord them a unique position among the tribes, or
[609] at least to acknowledge their former unique position. This, to them,
[186] is a cause for feeling ashamed. They are ashamed too because the
[651] land, except in the Reserves, is no longer theirs, and they have to
submit to taxation. ' To pay taxes, that is our war to-day ', and some-
[184] thing of the old martial spirit is evident in the young men who success-
fully evade the tax collectors, where the tax is collected directly by the
Government, as in Mpezeni's country. In Gomani's country, on the
other hand, where taxes are collected through the chiefs and headmen,
though the men groan at having to find the money, they do not
attempt to evade it, first because it would be useless, and secondly
because they acknowledge the right of the chiefs to collect dues from
them.

N Any generalization about the Ngoni attitude to white people would
177 be inaccurate without much detailed explanation, for which there is no
609 space here. It is true though, I think, that at least in Mpezeni's country
and possibly in the others, too, the Ngoni have not yet willingly made

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[1] It is said that it is useless to bribe Ngoni chiefs and councillors.

177 hitherto been the chief sanction for Ngoni supremacy. With their
178 invincibility gone, the regiments broke up and the Ngoni military
prestige was at an end. At the same time the direction of political affairs and the relations between the different tribes was assumed by a superior power. Ngoni political ascendancy and their control of economic organization was also at an end. The subject races of the Ngoni who had hitherto either been conquered or submitted voluntarily to the Ngoni had now an ally who was stronger than their former masters.

3. The new situation forced the Ngoni to make drastic readjust-
177 ments. They had to readjust themselves to new relations with other
178 tribes, and at the same time to the Europeans. In their contact with
186 the Chewa and other subject tribes they could no longer maintain the
●648 social exclusiveness which had marked the distinction between Ngoni
and slaves. There was therefore less actual resistance to culture fusion, though the dislike of adopting alien customs persisted. This dislike of alien customs was evident to some extent also in white contacts. The missionaries brought a new religion, western education, and western medicine. Other Europeans introduced land reserves, taxation, and working for wages. To the local tribes the European represented security as well as certain material benefits. To the Ngoni these material benefits appeared less welcome in the face of their defeat. There was therefore a psychological conflict set up among the Ngoni
178 —a malaise due to their military and political downfall, together with
181 their determination to preserve certain elements in their own culture.
182 That psychological conflict is evident everywhere to-day, and finds
expression in all conversations which turn on the relations of the Ngoni to other tribes or to Europeans. To the persistence of that conflict is due the strength of Ngoni 'national feeling', which has directed the selective process by which some of their political, legal, and social institutions have survived the results of culture contact.

4. Conditions all over Africa are changing and new forms of social
178 and political organization are emerging due to the contact of the
648 Africans with European civilization. What place has the Ngoni state
in this emergent African society? Are there still cultural realities in Ngoni society which should be preserved, and can the Ngoni political structure be galvanized into new life through the medium of Indirect

Rule? There might have been a time, before the Ngoni wars, when 178 treaties could have been made with the Ngoni Paramount Chiefs, and 648 the Ngoni state have evolved without defeat. Policy, however, was different in those days, and strong chiefs were crushed. The demand now is for strong tribal organization which can carry on its own administration with the minimum of European interference and direction. The vital question is: has that moment gone for the Ngoni? Has their defeat, not only military, but economic and political, so taken the heart out of them, that they can no longer rebuild their tribal organization and make a success of Indirect Rule?

The answer to that question has two desiderata. One is a thorough [121] intensive study of Ngoni society and Ngoni institutions as they exist to-day, and of the relation of the true Ngoni to those who call themselves Ngoni. The other is the willingness of Europeans, officials, missionaries, and settlers, to show some recognition of Ngoni pride in their past. The Ngoni are not children. They do not want a toy called Indirect Rule handed out to them to play with. If their political aspirations were appreciated and their racial pride acknowledged, they could make a successful synthesis between Ngoni institutions and modern administration with its concomitants of modern education and modern economic methods. They themselves discuss frequently in the men's talking places in the villages such a synthesis of Ngoni and western culture. The attempt in one area in Nyasaland to work out such a synthesis is a sign that it is not impossible. With fuller knowledge and co-operation on both sides the strength of Ngoni national sentiment might be used to make a success of the policy of Indirect Rule.

MARGARET READ.

Résumé

TRADITION ET PRESTIGE CHEZ LES NGONI

Les Ngoni sont une section des Zoulou qui habitent l'Afrique orientale. Le 000 vocable Ngoni désigne aujourd'hui deux groupes: les descendants des clans originels qui, il y a cent cinquante ans environ, émigrèrent vers le nord et les membres des tribus assujetties et absorbées dans l'état Ngoni. Les Ngoni proprement dits forment une aristocratie, qui se distingue par la communauté clanique et la connaissance de la langue Ngoni originelle et des traditions historiques de la tribu. Leurs institutions également diffèrent de celles des tribus soumises

made in the regimental system, which was organized on a national 563
basis. A person of low ethnic status, that is, of comparatively late in- 641
corporation into the tribe but of senior regiment, was considered to be, 701
in most circumstances, as good as a man of more aristocratic family but of a junior regiment. New regiments were formed about every four years.

Development of Minor Chieftainships

The defeat of the Ngoni army at the hands of the British in 1898 175
and the subsequent establishment of British control led to the partial 648
breakdown of this system. The population was dispersed by the fight- 631
ing and by the unsettled conditions that followed, and part of the kingdom was cleared for European occupation. The Administration recognized the grandson of Mpezeni I as the chief of the tribe, and also worked through a number of men known as Divisional Headmen, who were made responsible for small areas. Some of these divisional headmen were regional governors, some lieutenants of Mpezeni, some members of the royal lineage, and others were upstarts. It is not clear from the rather meagre records that remain or from the statements of informants exactly what happened between 1898 and 1914, but we know that by the latter date the Administration had come to recognize six men as local chiefs, apart from Mpezeni, and that four of them were said to be sons of Mpezeni I.[1] In 1929, when the term Native Authority was introduced, nine minor chiefs were appointed, of whom four were descended from Mpezeni I and one from the father of Mpezeni I. Two of the other minor chiefs have the descent-name *jere* that belongs to the royal lineage, and may be regarded as belonging to assimilated lineages. One is descended from a regional governor, the other from a policeman. Two minor chiefs do not have this descent-name, one being descended from a lieutenant of Zwangendaba and the other from a regional governor. This arrangement of one Paramount Chief and nine minor chiefs persists to the present day. With each of the ten chiefs is associated a more or less defined area within which most of the villages are said to belong to the chief of the area. What appears to have happened during the thirty years after the conquest is that the central power declined and that certain political and territorial segments achieved a degree of autonomy. The ten areas belonging to the different chiefs, which I shall refer to as counties, represent

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[1] Coxhead, *Native Tribes*, pp. 22 and 24.

175 ten units of different orders of segmentation in the old system and are 648 now regarded as ten homologous territorial segments in the new. 631 Thus one village founded for a group of queens by Mpezeni I has given rise to two royal chieftainships, another to one royal chieftainship, and a third to a royal chieftainship and a non-royal one. On the other hand, there is no chieftainship corresponding to the son of Mpezeni I who was next in succession to the main heir.

There are royal villages in every county. The oldest royal village 621 in a county is now the capital of the county, and the lieutenants in the 634 capital are responsible to the county chief. The minor chiefs have 178 continued the process of making new villages for their queens, so that in each county the chief lives in a recently formed royal village, founded either by himself or by his father, and not in his capital. The capital is often the biggest village in the county, while the chief's village is more frequently quite small. It is the name of the capital village rather than that of the chief's village that serves as the name of the county itself. Thus, while in the old days the national capital changed with each new Paramount, the county capitals do not alter. The new royal villages founded since 1898 have not the same importance in the political structure as had the pre-conquest royal villages. This change is reflected in the fact that there is now no real national capital in the old sense.

Disputes in the old days were settled in the village by the head- 692 man, or were taken to the regional governor, or to the lieutenants [622] of the royal village, for settlement. If the matter could not be settled there it was taken to the assembly of the senior lieutenants of Mpezeni, whose decision could be set aside only by Mpezeni himself. Now each chief has a court, and there is an appeal court on which representatives from each of the ten counties sit in turn. In the old 647 days important decisions were taken by the senior lieutenants, in consultation with Mpezeni, although the four large royal villages were to some extent independent of one another. Sections of the army, for [721] instance, appear to have been sent out on raids from a royal village without reference to the Paramount.[1] Under the present régime [648] meetings of the tribe as a whole are held at Mcumo, a centre established by the Administration at which there is a school and a dispensary. These are attended by the chiefs and such people as choose to come. These meetings are usually sponsored by the Administration, and meetings to discuss affairs that arise independently of the Administration are

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[1] Cf. Genthe, *A Trip to Mpeseni's*, p. 1.

sometimes held at the Paramount Chief's village. Each minor chief 647
holds meetings for the people in his own county to discuss matters
of common interest.

Quarrels among the chiefs are mainly in terms of the traditional 628
norms rather than of the new differentiation between them in the
Native Authority system. The Paramount Chief may abuse the minor
chiefs for not coming to visit him on his return from a journey, or for
not bringing beer with them when they come to visit him. In each
county there are villages which claim to belong to the chief of some
other county, on the ground that they originated from the capital
village of that county. These interloping villages increase the pressure
on the land of the county in which they are, and friction between the
two chiefs concerned may ensue. The chiefs like to be able to offer
new land for gardens to the people of their own villages, yet at the
same time each chief likes to have as many villages as possible apparently
under his sway. Hence there is competition both for the allegiance of
the villagers as well as for the land that they occupy. These struggles [643]
may be resolved by the Paramount Chief or by the Administration [648]
with a redefinition of boundaries or by moving the interloping villages [692]
to some other region. The Administration has from time to time
placed one county under the tutelage of the chief of another, on
grounds of administrative efficiency or the inexperience of a young
chief. These moves are interpreted as attempts by one chief to incorporate
the county of the other into his own, and allegations of killing
by sorcery may be made against one minor chief on the death of
another. Attempts have also been made to usurp the paramountcy, [669]
but this cannot be done openly under the present régime.

Efforts are also made by members of the royal lineage to achieve 631
the creation of new chieftainships by asserting the traditional 64
autonomy of the rural districts into which the counties are divided
for certain purposes. Seen in relation to the old system, these
attempts are efforts to increase the segmentation in that branch of
the royal lineage which corresponds with the modern county in which
they live. It is unlikely that such attempts will be successful, as the
policy of the Administration is opposed to the creation of new chieftainships.

Sanctions

The principal check on the power of the minor chiefs is that exercised 687
through the Paramount. The Administration, which is always 648

687 sensitive to suggestions that a chief may be oppressing his people,
648 usually works through the Paramount. One minor chief was sent to the Paramount's village for a period of instruction in order that he might learn how to rule wisely. On another occasion a chief who had abused the Administration was fined one month's salary by the Paramount. In both these instances the Administration was the initiator of the Paramount Chief's action, but he may also act without reference to it. It was reported to the Paramount that a certain minor chief had struck one of his subjects who had been slow to offer him beer. The Paramount warned the minor chief that he might kill someone this way, and that he ought to fine people, not to strike them. In a dispute between a minor chief and his court clerk over some new court furniture, which the chief wished to use in his own house, the Paramount intervened and ordered that the chairs be put in the courthouse.

643 The Paramount himself is subject to social constraint, and may be criticized by his senior lieutenants. He is advised on how he should behave by these men, and if his behaviour is unsatisfactory they may rebuke him. At county meetings, headmen and others can voice their
644 complaints against the royal house as a whole, and have from time to
661 time protested successfully at such a meeting against too many of the Native Authority posts being filled by members of the royal lineage.

The Native Authority

647 Under the Native Authority system, introduced by the Administra-
[648] tion in 1929, there are a number of paid officials, apart from the chiefs, whose salaries are met by the Native Treasury. They include councillors, assessors, clerks, police, postmen, school attendance officers, and others. The most important of these, and the most highly paid, are
692 the councillors and assessors. They sit once or twice a week in court and hear cases brought before them. Each of the chiefs has a court, and for the most part the cases that come before a county court are brought by people living in the county. When litigants from two counties are involved there is no definite rule as to which court will hear the case and it largely depends on the wish of the instigator of the proceedings. Cases come before the Paramount Chief's county court that concern people from other counties and a litigant may take his case from one chief to another, including the Nyasaland chiefs, in an attempt to obtain a favourable and enforceable decision. The Appeal Court sits at the Paramount Chief's village and is held once a month.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

422 Mpezeni is the owner of the land, or of the world. The cattle kept in
231 the royal villages are held to have belonged formerly to Mpezeni I or
643 to Zwangendaba, and therefore still belong to the Paramount Chief. Chiefs and other members of the royal lineage who have cattle inherited in this way, in fact dispose of them as they please when the Paramount Chief is not in their village, but if he appears and a beast is killed in his honour, it is the Paramount who is praised as the owner of the beast and not the local owner. In the capital and chief's villages the lieutenants are more under the control of the chief of the county, who may intervene to depose a lieutenant if he thinks that his cattle are not being well looked after.

622 The Administration does not distinguish between one type of vil-
621 lage and another, and gives the same title of headman[1] to the man in
648 charge of the village, whoever he may be. It tends to act on the assumption that all headmen are of equal status and have the same amount of authority in their villages. Combined with the decline in the power of the royal lineage, this policy may lead to the assimilation of the different types of village to a common form.

II. THE VILLAGE

Material Setting

361 Ngoni villages, which form the principal units of administration in the country, contain from half a dozen to 120 huts. It is seldom more than a quarter of a mile from one edge of a village to the other. There is a rough arrangement of huts into parallel lines, with the doors all facing the same way at right-angles to the direction of the
[343] lines. Kitchen huts, which are similar in appearance to dwelling huts, are included in these lines, while in front of a line of dwellings may be a line of storehouses and sties for small stock. On the edge of the
[417] village are the cattle byres. There are seldom any fences marking off courtyards within the village, so that it is possible to sit on the veranda of a hut and look along at all the other verandas. If there are well-established divisions within the village, the boundaries of the divisions may be indicated by lines of aloes.

592 Most people, except polygynists and some children, may be said to live in one hut, in which they keep most of their belongings and where they usually sleep. A single hut may be occupied by up to about ten

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[1] Usually *bediman*, pl. *mabediman*; otherwise *mfumu yamuzi*, pl. *mafumu wamizi*. The specific term for headman of a cadet or commoner village is *mwinimuzi*.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

replaced by new ones, but the village as a whole may be regarded as 361
stationary. The exhaustion of garden land in the vicinity of the village 166
is the principal reason for moving, as with the passage of time a man [311]
has to go farther and farther from the village to find new land.
Sooner or later it becomes more convenient to move the village to
another locality where there is plenty of regenerated land on which
gardens can be made. The death of the headman is sometimes followed
by a move to a new site, while quarrels within a village may cause a [768]
portion of the inhabitants to go off and live on their own, usually after
the matter has been referred to the chief. Since 1898 many villages
have been moved off land alienated to Whites, or away from congested [648]
areas.

When the Administration is the instigator of the move, the new [648]
village site is a matter for discussion between District Officer, county
chief, and village headman. In moves made on the initiative of
the villagers, the various possible new sites are reconnoitred by the
headman and other important people in the village and the site chosen
is notified to the chief for his approval. The first people start to make
their gardens in the vicinity of the site, and work is started on the new
village. For this a recently abandoned garden site may be chosen, as it
is easier to clear. The first structure to be built is usually a cattle byre.
Making a byre is very hard work, and I was told that if it was left till [343]
later it would be difficult to get people to tackle the job. Rattray,
writing of Gomani's Ngoni of central Nyasaland, relates how the [622]
headman's hut is built before the others, but this custom appears to [184]
be unknown in Fort Jameson District.[1]

Building is begun by the more industrious before the rains end, and 221
is completed after the harvest. The transition from the old site to the 361
new one is gradual, as, unless the distance between the sites is too 166
great, people will continue working the gardens in the old area until 241
they are exhausted. New gardens are indeed opened up on the old site
of the village, and it is quite common to see the ground dug up between the huts at the end of the rains while there are people still
living there.

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[1] Rattray, *Folk-Lore Stories*, pp. 109–11. Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 203–5, gives an account of the building of a new village among Mombera's Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, in which the cattle byre was built first, but it must be remembered that this was a village built round a central byre, after the fashion of the South-Eastern Bantu, whereas the cattle byre in a Fort Jameson village is nowadays a smaller affair placed on the outskirts of the village.

423 widows continue to cultivate the gardens they had before his death. When a man opens up a new garden he may hand over his nearly exhausted old garden to some relative who does not wish to go to the labour of clearing new ground himself. Rights in land cannot be sold, but only given away, and no presents are given to the donor by the recipient of a garden or garden site. They can only be sustained by continued residence in the locality, either by the owner of the rights himself or by his relatives. There are very few court cases concerned with rights in land, and in the courts the only attempt I saw in which a man tried to enforce what he thought to be his rights was met by the statement from the bench that no one had any rights in land, for did not all land belong to the chief?

241 Maize is planted at the beginning of the rains, and the garden is usually weeded twice over before the maize has grown high enough to surmount the weeds. When the rains end, the stalks are felled and put into large stooks to dry. The cobs are then taken off the stalks and carried back to the village to be stored. Finger millet is grown in ash-fertilized patches scattered through the main garden, and in between the maize ground-nuts, pumpkins, and other crops are grown. Sorghum, bulrush millet, and rice are also grown. Most of the work in the garden is carried on in the rainy season, and after the harvest the garden is more or less deserted until the next season, although a certain amount of new land may be cleared as a garden extension.

Dwellings outside the Village

361 [578] [648] There are two types of settlement outside the recognized villages that require mention. These are permanently occupied settlements consisting of two or three huts which I shall refer to as hamlets and temporarily occupied huts in the gardens. The hamlets usually arise as a result of quarrels within a village that are resolved by the breaking away of one of the parties to the quarrel. The activities of the Agricultural Department have also led to the formation of hamlets of similar size, both of hamlets of persons accepting agricultural control whose co-villagers have all moved off, and the other way about. These hamlets are all attached to proper villages for registration purposes, and participate in many of the collective activities of the villages near by.

221 361 [241] The damage done to crops in the latter part of the rainy season necessitates the keeping of a continuous watch, particularly at gardens that are on the edge of a cultivated area, in order to drive off the monkeys by day and the wild pigs by night. Shelters are erected on

241 those who have not been working. Some people choose to do their
273 work in the garden on the day previous to the party, on the theory
476 that working and drinking do not go together. A few people offer
baskets of ground-nuts or other crops or meat in return for a day's
[465] labour, and monetary payments are also known.

Craftsmen

463 There are a number of specialized occupations which give rise to
inter-village trading. Pots are made by women. Some villages have no
323 potter and their inhabitants are dependent on pot-makers in neighbouring villages.
[462] Sometimes a woman may acquire a reputation for
pot-making sufficiently high to attract custom even from villages where there are already pot-makers. Pots are sold in return for their own volume of maize, or for money, or the customers may be required to provide sufficient clay for twice the amount of pottery that they wish to obtain.

285 Basketry is a man's craft, and at the end of the rainy season, when
[462] it is necessary to watch all day in the gardens for monkeys, men with
this skill spend their time at it. Baskets are sold for money or for maize, and, as with pottery, there is a certain amount of inter-village sale.

Herbalists draw their clients from a wider area than do the pot- and
759 basket-makers, and their contacts with their patients are more intense. If a man falls sick, the remedies known in the family are tried first, but if these are unsuccessful he may go to someone who is known for his wide knowledge of medicines. Patients will travel up to 15 miles or so to consult a herbalist, who may require them to live in his village to receive treatment. Payment for medical treatment is sometimes demanded part in advance, but other practitioners ask for a fee only when a cure has been effected. Since the establishment of medical
[648] services by the Administration the way has been open for the medical orderlies to operate in opposition to the herbalists, using misappropriated European drugs.

III. THE FAMILY

Principles of Descent

611 The Ngoni are traditionally a patrilineal patrilocal people paying
[591] bride-wealth with cattle. This tradition is reflected in modern prac-
[583] tice only to a limited extent. Many of the men and women who were
[184] incorporated after Zwangendaba had crossed the Zambezi came from

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Maravi FR4

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time controlled from a mission station just inside Nyasaland, so that 635
many people crossed to attend religious services and receive instruc- [797]
tion. From Mpezeni's own county it is easier to get to the hospital at [743]
Fort Manning than to the one at Fort Jameson, so that people
wanting European medicine tend to go to Nyasaland for treatment N
rather than to Fort Jameson. Nyasalanders are for their part attracted [438]
into Northern Rhodesia by the market for foodstuffs among the urban
population, White and Black, of Fort Jameson and by the greater
variety of goods on sale there.

Other Ngoni Groups

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The Fort Jameson Ngoni are conscious of their links with the other 101
groups of Ngoni scattered over Central Africa, and of their similarity 173
with the Ndebele and the Swazi and Zulu. The Paramount Chief is sometimes praised by the recital in the Ngoni language of the past exploits of the Ngoni, how they crossed the Zambezi, and how they conquered one tribe after another. On one occasion I heard someone who cannot speak Ngoni praise the Paramount by repeating, in Ndebele, which is similar to Ngoni, a praise of Mzilikazi[1] which he had learnt by rote. This oration was accepted without comment by the Paramount. Lancaster has recorded a legend that Lobengula[2] fled to Mpezeni after the second Matebele War, and that he died in the country.[3] Some years after his installation Mpezeni II was visited by a delegation from Mombera, chief of the Ngoni of Northern Nyasaland, which, it is said, came to ratify Mpezeni's position as Chief of the Fort Jameson section of the Ngoni. An important headman in Mpezeni's county, who bears the same name as Chief Chiwere of the Ngoni of Dowa District, still claims from time to time that because his namesake and alleged relative is a chief, he too ought to be a chief.

Nsenga and Yao

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The Ngoni are on more friendly terms with the Nsenga of Petauke 648
District than with the other matrilineal tribes of the region. Some of [197]
the kinship ties that were formed as a result of intermarriage between
the two tribes in the 1870's can still be traced, and their languages are similar. Mpezeni III went in 1944 with his first lieutenant and twenty-five followers to visit the Nsenga Chief Manjawanthu, and he is expected to return the invitation.

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[1] The first Ndebele king.

[2] Son of Mzilikazi, defeated by the Whites.

[3] Lancaster, p. 83. Cf. *British Central Africa Gazette*, 15 May 1896, p. 2, and Posselt, *Upengula the Scatterer*, pp. 112–24.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959

FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Yao FT7

N Y 648 691 The Yao are mistrusted more than any other tribe, and some of the decisions taken by the courts are harsh on Yao. For example, a Yao man who was married to an Ngoni woman had, it was alleged, caught venereal disease from his wife. His wife then applied to the courts for a divorce, which was granted, together with the custody of the children. No bride-wealth had been paid in the marriage, but the husband now offered to pay in order to retain the children. This bride-wealth was refused by the woman's parents. The Yao appealed, but the judgement was upheld, and in addition he was ordered to go back to Nyasaland at once. He asked for permission to return to the woman's village in order to collect his belongings, and this was granted by the court, after first securing agreement between the couple as to the extent of his possessions, to wit, four plates and two beds. This deportation order was made despite the fact that the Yao had been living with his wife for twenty-one years. If a man of some other tribe had been involved, it is unlikely that he would have been ordered to leave the country, nor would the court have been so suspicious of his trying to take away more than his rightful share of the household possessions.

N Y 648 583 A Yao, who had a good job in Fort Jameson, once offered 30*s.* to the Paramount Chief when he was in the town as the legalization payment for a woman of the royal lineage whom he wished to marry. The Paramount Chief refused the money on the ground that the man was a Yao and he was not going to permit Yao to marry into the royal lineage, despite the protest of one of his lieutenants that the Yao was just a man like anyone else.

N 186 609 N Y 648 The reason that is given for this dislike of Yao is that they are sexually very virile, due to the medicines that they possess for increasing potency. It is perhaps significant that the same is said of Indians, who are also disliked. The Yao are known among the Ngoni for their great knowledge of medicines of all kinds, and the allegation of unnatural sexual vigour may be a rationalization of the fear that the Yao may practise sorcery among the families into which they marry. Another factor that may operate is that the Yao are the only tribe in the region that the Ngoni cannot claim to have conquered.

Political Relations with Other Tribes

N 648 721 Before the European conquest relations between the Ngoni and other tribes were principally those of raiders and raided. The great season for raiding was after the harvest, when the surrounding tribes could be raided for their crops, as well as for captives, and when the rivers did not form such an obstacle to rapid movement as they did during the wet season. Some of the early reports of travellers suggest that there was some sort of alliance or working arrangement between the Ngoni and Mwasi Kasungu, whose territory acted as a buffer-state between Mpezeni's Ngoni and Mombera's Ngoni of Nyasaland[1] but this alliance does not seem to have been very stable. 648 [721]

The British Administration restored or created Cewa chieftainships that now completely encircle the Ngoni except where the Ngoni area reaches to the edge of the waterless and uninhabited Luangwa escarpment. The Administration did not recognize any right of the Ngoni over these Cewa areas, and it is now difficult to discover how much control was in fact exercised by the Ngoni over the Cewa at that time. The Ngoni certainly continued to hold that they were entitled to control the Cewa. In 1913, when the formation of reserves was being discussed with the Administration, the Ngoni chiefs are said to have been disappointed that the scheme would give the Cewa land of their own and later in the same year they tried to ensure that the Cewa to their south, who were to be granted a reserve separate from those of the Ngoni, should be formally placed under the control of Mpezeni.

At the present time the principal institution in which Ngoni cooperate with other tribes under the aegis of the Administration is the Eastern Province African Provincial Council. This body meets once a year for three days, and is attended by delegates from all the Superior Native Authorities in the Eastern Province, as well as by representatives of the Administration. It discusses matters of common interest and it elects two members to represent the Eastern Province on the African Representative Council of the whole Territory, but it does not have any legislative or executive powers. Its meetings are open to the public,[2] but as yet few people attend and the recommendations reached are passed on to only a small section of the tribe. The delegates to the Council are chosen by the Paramount Chief on the advice of his lieutenants. 646 648

There are also other political relationships that unite Ngoni with other tribes. Some of them arise from common residence in an area outside the Ngoni country. Representatives are stationed at the 648

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[1] Money and Smith, *Explorations in the Country West of Lake Nyasa*, p. 152.

[2] Except on the first day, when the African members of the Council meet by themselves in Committee.

648 principal urban centres on the railway line in Northern Rhodesia who represent the Ngoni Native Authority in the various Native Urban Courts. These representatives are appointed by the Superior Native Authority, that is, by the Paramount Chief and his lieutenants. These posts are regarded in much the same light as those of the minor chiefs except that the tenure of office is not so stable, and the same struggles to gain them take place. There are Ngoni members of the Fort Jameson African Urban Advisory Council, but they are elected by urban Africans and are not appointed by the Native Authority.

Rural and Urban Status

369 554 The relatively privileged position of certain individuals in the urban order may raise their status in the life of the tribe. We have already seen how the initiative in religious matters is taken by the deacons and evangelists, and these people are also called upon to lead the prayers that precede all county meetings. The orderlies in the hospitals in Fort Jameson are able to establish private practices and number chiefs and other important people among their clients. The senior shop assistants may find it possible to entertain important people by offering them European spirits. The clerks of the Administration, as part of the protective screen around the District Officers, can exercise their discretion in allowing pleas to go forward to them.

There seems to be very much less bribery and corruption than has been reported from other parts of Africa. The Ngoni are in the main more interested in and more able to make effective use of medicines and other material goods than they are of advance information. But the fact remains that the African Civil Service and the various commercial undertakings are institutions within which a man of no importance in the village and tribe can rise to a position of influence which will affect his dealings with other tribesmen. The only Ngoni on the African Representative Council, which meets yearly and includes representatives from the whole of Northern Rhodesia, was in 1946 not a headman or lieutenant but was the most prominent African businessman in Fort Jameson.

To some extent this association of high status in the urban community and low status in the rural one is inevitable, since it is only by absence from the district for many years that a man can advance himself sufficiently and acquire sufficient skill and seniority to reach this high urban status. The member of the African Representative

Council mentioned above spent some tweny years of his life in Johan- 369
nesburg. Fort Jameson itself is not a sufficiently big town for this 554
process to take place within it, and yet it is only in Fort Jameson or on the tobacco farms that a man can live with a leg in both camps, going home to the village at the week-ends and probably keeping his wife in the village during the wet season to tend her crop.

On the other hand, there is some rivalry between the traditional 369
leaders and the comparatively prosperous townspeople. The well-clad 578
and well-housed Ngoni of the township are sometimes described 177
scornfully by village people as 'merely White'. There is a feeling that the leading African traders are trying to monopolize the economic opportunities in the villages. Recently the same prominent Ngoni businessman proposed that he should take over the delivery of mail to [205]
the Native Authorities, which he claimed he would be able to do more [493]
efficiently with a car than can the present postman on a bicycle. The Paramount Chief did not answer this proposal but wrote instead to the Administration to complain against the danger of one man being allowed to earn so much more than anyone else while there wete so many people who needed money. At the same time, men whose lives are led principally in the towns complain that in the villages there is 'nothing but jungle', and that the chiefs are old-fashioned and obstructive.

The Administration

The relationship between the Provincial Administration and the 648 ●
Ngoni is characteristically one of superordination and subordination. The District Officer can send for any Ngoni, but not even the Paramount Chief can send for the District Officer. This characteristic arises from two sources, from the premiss which we find held all over Southern Africa, that any White is superior to any Black, and from the supervisory role allotted to the Administration in the Native Authority scheme. These two facets of the same relationship are not always seen separately by the Ngoni, and in many contexts their behaviour towards the Administration is governed entirely by the fact that the District Officer and those above him are all White. Official reports by the Administration during the reign of Mpezeni II repeatedly remarked on the Paramount Chief's distrust of Whites, and this attitude still persists. Any kind of trouble at all, particularly when it is seen as a characteristic of the present times as opposed to the glorious trouble-free past of the days of peace, before the Whites

648 came, is attributed to the Whites. I was told that the high incidence of divorce, the disappearance of wooden plates, the frequent breaches of the mother-in-law avoidance, were all due to the Whites. The District Officer is seen primarily as a member of this White tribe, and only secondarily as a member of the Administration as opposed to being a farmer or a missionary. An Administration official was once described by an admirer as 'a man whom the Ngoni trusted, although he was a White'.

In practice, it is the Administration, through the person of the District Officer, which supplies the stimulus to maintain the Native Authority structure in being in its present form. As far as many of the tasks allocated to it by the Administration are concerned, the Ngoni Native Authority falls into the class mentioned by Davidson as having 'still to be continually stirred into activity by the local District Officer'.[1] It is the Administration which calls the meetings of representatives of the whole tribe to discuss questions relating to land, agriculture, schools, labour migration, ex-soldiers, and the like. It is the Administration which supplies the forms to the Native Courts, the ubiquitous books that are the symbol of White power, which informs the Native Authority what taxes and licence fees to collect, which supplies land for resettlement, organizes the building of wells and roads, and so on.

Mistrust is certainly the principal characteristic of the Ngoni attitude to Whites, a mistrust which is based as much on what are felt to be past wrongs as on an inability to understand the motives for present administrative actions, however well intentioned these may be.[2] At the same time there is considerable admiration for White material achievements, and to a lesser extent for the large-scale political and economic developments of which they are aware. Sentiments such as 'the British Empire means peace for everybody' are not at all uncommon.

It is in relation to the farmers that the Administration is seen in the kindliest light, and it is from the Administration that Ngoni seek redress for infringements of their rights by Whites and Indians. The District Officer also acts as an agent for some of the smaller Ngoni traders, obtaining supplies for them from the urban centres. The Administration attempts to protect the rights of Ngoni by seeing that they are not cheated of their wages by planters or overcharged by traders.

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[1] Davidson, *N.R. Legislative Council*, p. 29.

[2] Cf. Read, *Tradition and Prestige*, pp. 473-81.

The tribe is represented to the Administration in the person of its chief, and the fact that it is through him that the Administration articulates with the tribe is realized by thinking people. In a wider sense, he represents the tribe to the White community as a whole. When I first started work in the area there were many formalities at my meetings with the Paramount Chief, so that I should understand the importance of his position. Mpezeni II is said never to have allowed a White to see him dancing, because of the mystical and social dangers involved. At a county meeting, held while the Paramount Chief was away in Livingstone, the court clerk reminded headmen that the month of May was approaching, and that he would soon be wanting people to hoe the Native Authority roads. When the time came, he did not want headmen to say they had no people. He continued: 'If the people do not obey the laws, then Mpezeni will not be well regarded by the Whites. Then when the Administration wants to make bad laws, Mpezeni will not protest, as he will want to punish his own people.' 648

If the chief is too attentive to the requirements of the Administration, then his standing with his own people is likely to suffer. A chief's court was once described as 'just a White court' because of its alleged bias in favour of the Administration's interpretation of native custom. On the other hand, this identification with the White Administration is not accepted by the chiefs and their advisers. In an adultery case, in which the husband did not want to divorce his wife but she refused to go back to him, Mpezeni, who was present, ordered the woman to return to her husband. A councillor asked the woman what she had to say. She said she loved the co-respondent. The councillor was annoyed, and asked her, 'Do you know who Mpezeni is?' The woman said, 'He's a chief', using the usual word for chief, *mfumu*, current all over north-eastern Rhodesia. The councillor replied: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a chief, everyone is a chief nowadays.' The woman then said, 'He's a White.' The councillor answered: 'No, Mpezeni is not just a White whose orders can be sometimes obeyed and sometimes ignored. Mpezeni is *nkhosi*, the great chief of the Ngoni, whose commands must always be carried out.' 643 554 177

484 167 Looked at from the point of view of the individual, we find that all adult men have at some time or other been away to work, and that the majority have been to Southern Rhodesia once or twice.

Conclusion

466 In their lives on the farms and in Fort Jameson, Ngoni mix with men from other tribes, and their position is largely subsumed under the conditions common to all African labourers on all European-controlled farms. The Administration does not support the Ngoni more [648] than the Cewa, or one chief more than another. As the content of the relationship becomes more and more related to the world-wide polity and economy, so the nature of the relationship becomes common to a wider group. Ngoni living in Fort Jameson Compound live lives that are closer to the lives led by other tribes in compounds in other towns than they are to those led in the villages 5 miles away. 464 [167] The phenomenon of labour migration greatly affects Ngoni social structure, but is not a distinctively Ngoni institution in the same way as the Ngoni village is distinctively Ngoni. When Ngoni ex- [729] soldiers complain that when they were recruited they were promised that after the war they would get good jobs, and now find they do not get them, their sentiments derive more from their status as ex-soldiers, which they share with some millions of others, than they do from their status as Ngoni.

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TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NGONI, GENEALOGY OF THEIR CHIEFS, AND NOTES.

BY D. GORDON LANCASTER.

NOTE OF INTRODUCTION.

THESE tentative notes relating to the Ngoni are the result of many years of research 101
amongst the natives in the Eastern Province of N. Rhodesia, with whom I have been
in constant contact, firstly as a Government official and secondly as a friend. I have 123
received the greatest assistance and courtesy from the Paramount Chief, Mpezeni Jere II,
and I am further indebted to A. K. Jere, a son of old Chief Kapatamoyo Jere, 643
without whose knowledge, assistance and tactful handling of the old indunas these notes
and genealogy would never have been completed.

NOTES.

(1) Zongendaba (Zwangendaba, Uzwangendaba) Kumalo, son of Hlatshwayo of the 159
Ngoni tribe and his wife, Mquamache Nzima, was born near St. Lucia Bay in 1780 167
circa.

Zongendaba, when a young man, appears to have shown great promise as a military 173
leader. Hlatshwayo, his father, and Ziwide, uncle of his wife, Loziwawa Nqumayo, 643
appear to have been close neighbours and friends, and with other local clans for some time 698
resisted Tshaka. The date of Hlatshwayo's death is not known, but Zongendaba
broke away from the district or tribal area with a large following, after the second attack
by Tshaka on the Ndwandwe Tribe, whom the Ngoni were assisting. Mzilikazi, a
younger member of the Kumalo, after this defeat served Tshaka as an Induna[1] for approximately two years, during which time his bravery and leadership, under the eye of Tshaka,
brought him promotion. Zongendaba and Gwaza Tole broke away with a following
in the year 1823; Mzilikazi followed towards the end of the year 1825.

In the same year, 1825, Soschangane, known as Manukusa, son of Sigode and a
cousin of Zongendaba's wives, Loziwawa and Sosera, broke away with a following of
Ama-Ndwandwe and entered into Tongaland, Portuguese East Africa, through
Swaziland. It is stated by native authorities that Zongendaba had with him girls and
young women but no matrons, that they were few in number, that the Ama-Swazi were [721]
raided for cattle and suitable young girls, and that these were taken along with them
on their northern migration through Tongaland and Lourenco Marques.

It is definitely stated that the following wives accompanied Zongendaba from their
tribal area: Loziwawa and Sosera. These women were daughters of Nombhengula, [595]
brother of Ziwide and son of Langa Vimba. Nombhengula was a brother of Ziwide and not
as is sometimes stated a son.

[1] [induna=military leader--Analyst]

159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
578 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukusa; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukusa and Zongendaba midway between
the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

648 In the year 1833, in which Manukusa attacked the Portuguese and drove them
out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukusa and Zongendaba disagreed and
a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by
Mhlabawadabuka, a brother of Manukusa, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba
broke with Mhlabawadabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the
Ingwe-Kwizi River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief,
Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo.
[805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the
Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on
the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between
Zongendaba and an induna, Ngabi Masoko, who with a small following remained on the
south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding
country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction
was made, it is said, by Gwaze Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his
[645] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one
[684] of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed,
after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing
the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chulu, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukūma and Msafwa.

In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
159 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
173 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to
643 two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njokwane. He died at Mapupu in the Fipa country
and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyinalusi River. On his death bed he gave
[766] his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Sosera), Ntutu Mpezeni, who was
[428] then in his twentieth year.

(2) Loziwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi".
159 She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
173 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great
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(19) The *isi-bongo*[1] "Jere," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general use until after the death of Zongendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear to have been Kumalo, Nqumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Nzima, Gama, Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu, and Nkosi. 173 [614]

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa. [576]

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-swazi. [197]

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of " Bayete " on all official occasions and in his own home. [643]

(20) Ba-Pule people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse with the Ngoni in isi-swazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pule; when they spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general opinion of the old indunas is that they were BaSuto people. They supplied excellent fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals. [648] ●

INTERESTING NOTE re DEATH OF LOBENGULA.

159 173 643

Lobengula, Chief of the Ama-Tebele. It is stated as follows.

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyerere Drift and arrived at the Mtenguleni Uka Susera village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumbersome was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the Sanjika Kopje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock. [142] [276] [763]

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in 1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropu, who resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and usually all knowledge is denied of this subject. [766] [115]

List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 18th, 19th and 20th of January, 1935, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of Chief Zongendaba:—Basaliyo Soko, Zamajaya Mphanza, Mchamunye Mphanza, Mshawa Mwase Shawa, Dede Tole, Mjoho Ndwambi Jere, Malwalaliche Tembo, Maraje Nkhawa, Katonda Manyumu Makowane, Kapendela Jomai Mvula, Machiliko Mphanza, Chisaguchane Ngulube, Chiwere Maimba, Maulau Jere, Majulange Mphanza, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Madzimawe, Andrew Kapatamoyo Jere, James Ndawambi Hara, Matrino Kangwere Nkhawa, Funyani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Zelushalo Gawani Mawere, Chingulukani Hlanba, Siye Mvula, Ngungu Singu Jere, Mshawa Mphanza, Mzarki Lakhdo, Njombwa Tembo, Adonibruche Mshanga, etc. 115 527 551 814

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

[2] [isitakazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]

/3 cont'd/
a point some fifteen miles south of Fort Jameson. It seems likely 175
that another eastward move was being contemplated when in 1898
they clashed with troops from Nyasaland, and were defeated.
Already the territory under the control of Mpezeni stretched across the 131
Luangwa-Shire watershed, and with the establishment of British rule
in the same year, that portion of Mpezeni's domain lying across the
watershed became detached from the main portion which lay in
Northern Rhodesia. The Nyasaland section of the empire is now 631
controlled by two independent Ngoni chieftainships, both in the Fort
Manning area of Lilongwe District. In this Territory, the present
Paramount Chief is a great-grandson of the first Mpezeni.

/4/ Like all the Ngoni groups, Mpezeni's people are the result 648 ●
of much intermarriage between the southern migrants and the Central
Bantu people with whom they fought. In particular, Mpezeni's
Ngoni intermarried a great deal with the Nsenga of Petauke District,
and it is the Nsenga language that is spoken to-day in Ngoni villages, 197
rather than the old Ngoni language, akin to Zulu, which is used only
in praises and songs. Cicewa is spoken in some villages which at
the time of the arrival of the Europeans had been incorporated only
a short time into the Ngoni state and had not had time to lose their
own Chewa tongue.

The principal difference between the Ngoni and their 642
surrounding neighbours is in their form of centralised chieftainship, inherited
from father to son. Under the Paramount Chief are nine minor chiefs, 631
positions created by the British South Africa Company's administration,
and held by descendants in the male line of Zwangendaba and his
important officials. Until about 1920 there were divisional
headmen in charge of a number of villages, but these posts have now
disappeared. In a village there is a headman, an hereditary position 602 624
in the male line, and often one or two assistants, also hereditary
offices, descended from captives of the original headman who had
been promoted to responsible office.

In the old days one of the principal ways in which the diverse 701
elements within the Ngoni state were unified was through the
regimental system. Regiments were formed every so many years on a

borne out in Roman days also, that the handier, and more artful 171
and skilful people have usually a lower social morality than the
fighting races. Our Ngoni came to Nyasaland as a moral blessing. [648]
The ordinary obscenity of the indigenous people was not for a
moment tolerated among the Ngoni. It is very appalling to [177]
hear and see how degraded were the Tumbuka into whose land
they came. A people among whom virginity was unknown, where
family relationship was no defence, where men and women lived
in an atmosphere that was charged with vice. But when the
Ngoni came, many of the foul practices of the Tumbuka were
punished with death. Their obscene dances were prohibited,
many of their superstitious customs were banned, and generally
a higher type of morality was superimposed.

The aristocratic Ngoni is a gentleman through and through. 565
His word is absolute. When he gives a promise you may fear- 181
lessly rely on it. He does not steal, nor does he intrude on your
privacy. I have heard the old men storm in a village because
some boys stood around staring at me, or speaking. Before a
superior they should sit down, and remain silent, or only speak in 576
whispers. When they address you they always give you your
family name of honour, or if they don't know it, round off each
sentence with a "sire." When you come into a village you sit at
the gate of the cattle kraal and wait for your reception. After a
long time the elders of the village appear. Their courtesy is that 574
the longer the wait the greater the welcome. For if they come
out quickly they seem to say you had better clear out quickly.
When they appear they sit down at some distance, and remain
silent. You must not speak till you are spoken to. After a
decent interval, they come forward, sit down, and leisurely say,
"We see you, sire." Then you reply, "Yes, sire." That is the
whole courtesy. Conversation may now begin. When you would
rise to go, you first of all say, "Remain in peace, sire," and they
reply, "Yes, and go thou in peace, sire." It is very courteous
and friendly, and they accompany you along the path a little way,
and again send you off with salutation.

Their village life is not without interests and amusements. 692
During the day in the head villages there are continual trials in
open court—trials which last for hours and days with continual [537]
speech-making. In the evenings the kraal echoes with the chorus
of village dances. Quite the prettiest and most delightful dance 535
is the village competitive dance which is held during the day. A